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CENTENNIAL THOUGHTS.

It behooves every American citizen, irrespective of political party, who has the interest of his country at heart, to calmly review the past history of the Republic with the view of avoiding in the future the errors of the past, and of securing a continuation of the substantial progress that has already fallen to our lot in our national and individual capacities.

We have reached the Centennial period of our existence as a nation, and the grave question at this time presses itself home to the heart and conscience of every man, whether or not we as a people are to go on gaining greater victories for liberty and civilization on this western continent. While we are looking into the future with high hopes for the Republic, let us not be forgetful of the past which has supplied so many warnings. In any impartial review of our history there is one stupendous fact which can never be ignored. To be sure it is a fact of the past, yet its influence extends to the present and far into future. It also forms the basis of a terrible apprehension on the part of thinking men for the safety as well as for the permanency of our institutions. This fact is the old slavery question, which was partially decided by the stern logic of war, but which reappears in a new form, as we shall presently see, and still again threatens the extinction of every thing which we hold dear and sacred in the body politic. Let us therefore look at the past and the present. Let us deliberate calmly and, as far as may be, without prejudice or passion. Aye, if

you please, let our review be rather that of the patriotic citizen, who appreciates the Government under which we live, and who earnestly desires to promote its highest as well as its most permanent good. No time is more auspicious for such a review than this very year in which we are celebrating the first century of our existence among the nations of the earth. Let our Centennial reflections be the reflections of men who are determined at all hazards to keep intact the great fact of American Independence in every nook and corner of this broad land and let us remember that fact carries with it the right to think and to act politically, whether we be white or black, whether we are at the North or at the South, as the dictates of reason and conscience demand.

In looking back over our century of history it is difficult to comprehend how two antagonistic and irreconcilable systems should ever have been linked together as that of freedom and slavery—the one the system of social order based on the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and the other a denial of it. When the Declaration proclaimed that “all men are born free and equal,” it enunciated a doctrine which precluded the possibility of defending slavery on principle. For, if man be a freeman by birthright and entitled to equality before the law, this right is not a mere political or prescriptive one, but a natural right. The doctrine goes deeper, including in its formula equal personal rights before the law, that is, the equal right to “life, liberty, and the pur-

suit of happiness." This view was clearly held by the fathers of the Republic at the South as well as at the North, and hence the men who attempted a defense of slavery never attempted it by a denial of the legitimate sense of the Declaration of Independence. A few for want of a stronger argument intrenched their advocacy of the slave power under Choate's favorite theory—a "glittering generality"—but others, more bold as well as more logical, adopted the language of the Vice President of the Confederacy, now a member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, denying the truth of the proposition of equal rights, and characterizing it as a "pestilent heresy." We have said that at this Centennial period of our history it seems almost beyond comprehension how two systems, the very antipodes of each other, should have flourished in the Republic, exhibiting one of the most grotesque moral and political paradoxes that the world ever saw. Keen-sighted and discriminating men of both sections, long before the rebellion, detected, to use the singularly appropriate language of William Pinkney of Maryland, "the lurking demon of usurpation." Seventy-two years ago that distinguished statesman uttered these memorable words, which have a deep significance when read by the light of the concluding years of our century of existence: "That the dangerous consequences," says he, "of the system of bondage have not been felt does not prove that they never will be. To me nothing for which I have not the evidence of my senses is more clear than that it will one day destroy all reverence for liberty, which is the vital principle of a republic."

Equally clear and pointed is the language of foreign writers who have visited the United States, or who have studied into the nature of our institutions. Among this class none stand higher than the distinguished French publicist, M. De Tocqueville, who, in his work on Democracy in America, says: "The inhabitants of the Southern States are of all the Americans those who are most interested in the maintenance of the Union; they would assuredly suffer most from being left to themselves; and yet they are the only ones who threaten to break the tie of Confederation."

It is easy to perceive that the South, which has given four Presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe—to the Union, which perceives that it is losing its Federal influence, and that the number of its representatives in Congress is diminishing from year to year, whilst those of the Northern and Western States are increasing—the South, which is peopled with ardent and irascible men, is becoming more and more irritated and alarmed. Its inhabitants reflect upon the present position, and remember their past influence, with the melancholy uneasiness of men who suspect oppression. If they discover a law of the Union which is not unequivocally favorable to their interests, they protest against it as an abuse of force; and if their ardent remonstrances are not listened to they threaten to quit an association which loads them with burdens whilst it deprives them of the profits."—(Volume I, page 517.)

Allison, in his "History of Modern Europe," vol. iv, page 448, says: "All the efforts of philanthropy, all the force of eloquence, have been shattered against the obvious interests of a body of proprietors dependent for their existence on slave labor. It is perfectly understood in every part of the Union that the first serious attempt to force emancipation upon the country by a general measure will be the signal for an immediate separation of the Southern States from the Union."

The philosophic Coleridge makes the inquiry, in his "Table Talk," vol. vi, page 417—"Can there ever be any thorough national fusion of the Northern and Southern States? I think not. In fact, the Union will be shaken almost to dislocation whenever a very serious question between the States arises."

The late Bishop Wilberforce, son of the philanthropist, in his "History of the American Church," page 415, predicted just such a condition of affairs as now exist in the Southern States: "Never in the history of any people," wrote the then Bishop of Oxford, twenty-six years ago, "was the righteous retribution of the holy and living God more distinctly marked than in the manifold evils which now trouble America for her treatment of the African race. Like all other

CENTENNIAL THOUGHTS.

sinful courses, it has brought, day by day, confusion and entanglement into all the relations of those contaminated by it. It is the cause which threatens to disorganize the Union; it is the cause which upholds the power of mobs and 'lynching'; it is the occasion of bloodshed and violated law; it is, throughout the South, the destroyer of family purity, the hindrance to the growth of civilization and refinement; it is the one weak point of America as a nation, exposing her to the deadliest of internal strife, that of an internecine war."

Of the fulfillment of these remarkable prophecies it is entirely needless now to speak. As a necessary result of war slavery became extinct and the slave population, by the voice of the American people, clothed with all the rights of citizenship. But while all the recent advances in the department of government and public liberty have been made, another inquiry of equal importance ought not to be overlooked in this Presidential campaign. It is an inquiry of vital moment to every citizen—to every believer in our common Christianity: Has the moral advance in the Southern States since the war been at all commensurate with the progress of liberty? Has the demon engendered by the desperate conflict for the maintenance of a slave oligarchy been entirely subdued? We boast at this Centennial period of our Constitution, our limitations of Federal and State sovereignty, our vindication of free thought and action, our emancipations from foreign rule and domestic servitude, our free commerce under world-wide guarantees of law. While we are asserting in all these complex forms the supreme right of government to rule all within the sphere of its power for the good of the whole, it may be remarked as an axiom in the history of the progress of liberty that political society makes no true and permanent gain unless that gain be vitalized and made secure in the domain of moral ideas and principles. Politics and morals never can be divorced with safety in a republic. The one is the essential complement of the other. Slavery, to be sure, lies prostrate beyond the revivifying power of resurrection, and its many-headed tyranny is broken forever; yet withal its old spirit stalks

abroad and will not succumb to the divine principle of law, the guardian of liberty. As long as the tyrannical passion of mastership reigns in the Southern heart, although slavery may be broken physically, there can be no moral advance toward complete citizenship; for one of the essentials of true citizenship and of the safety of the Republic is free and spontaneous allegiance to the supremacy of law. Here, then, is the real cause of all the contention, disturbance, and what is far worse still, of the bloodshed and foul murder which make the Southern States a very Tophet of misrule and anarchy.

To the leaders of public opinion in the South, aided by Democratic politicians and writers in the North, is to be attributed this unconquerable determination to resist at all hazards the enforcement of the laws which are the salvation of the Republic and of the colored and white Republicans everywhere. This statement of fact is no mere idle assertion. We propose to prove it from the pages of the leading periodical published in the South—a periodical edited by no political wire-puller seeking votes, but by one of her first scholars, formerly professor her first institution of learning, the University of Virginia. In the conduct of the Southern Quarterly Review, the periodical above referred to, Prof. A. T. Bledsoe was formerly assisted by the Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, now one of the ex-Confederate leaders in the House of Representatives. "As a preliminary," to use a striking passage from the late Sir Arthur Helps' "Thoughts upon Government," page 226, "I would ask such men to consider what a serious thing it is to inculcate principles which tend to revolutionize a State. It is like disturbing virgin earth, which it would take unknown ages to compress again into its original form. It was not without some show of reason that our ancestors decreed the most fearful punishments for high treason. Consider the labor of untold generations that has gone to make a State, even if that State be one which has many faults of government and much that requires to be remedied or improved."

One might form a *catena* of passages from the Southern Review since its revival at the close of the war, but a few specimens from

its political articles will amply suffice to carry conviction to all candid minds as to the state of feeling now existent in the Southern States.

In a review of Dr. Draper's "History of the American Civil War," in the January number of 1868, page 18, occurs the following passage: "The South entered an equal Union, in which she was promised the control of one branch of Congress for her safety, her freedom, and her protection therein; and it was her high crime, her unpardonable rebellion, that she refused to submit to an overwhelming majority in both branches thereof. Or, in other words, that she was not willing to hold her 'freedom by sufferance' only, or 'at the will of a superior,' of a superior, too, in the shape of a cruel, tyrannical, and remorseless majority. This, in the estimation of the North, was her high crime and misdemeanor. In the estimation of history it will be her noble-doing and heroic virtue." Again on pages 22 and 23 of the same article the reviewer still berates the views advanced by Dr. Draper: "Bound hand and foot," he says, "in the legislative department of the Government—by far the most important of all—and mercilessly robbed by overwhelming and continually increasing majorities in both its branches, she is, nevertheless, told that she has had control of all the departments of the Government, a monopoly of all its vast powers! And this tremendous lie, this everlasting and universal lie of the North, is made the pretext for stripping her of her last, poor, feeble defensive power in the Union, by the election of a sectional President on purely sectional grounds! Is made the pretext for the consolidation of the North in opposition to the South, and against the Constitution originally designed for the protection of the South, as a 'covenant with death and a compact with hell.' Is this the good faith of the North? Is this the magnanimity and justice of the North? If so, then indeed may we take up the litany of all our woes, and say, 'from Northern magnanimity and justice, good Lord deliver us.' If it be thy good will and pleasure, let war, pestilence, and famine be our portion; but deliver us from Northern magnanimity and from Northern justice. War, pestilence, and

famine are, indeed, awful calamities. But then we shall never be required to embrace them as magnanimous blessings of a merciless foe. Meanness and injustice, even when open and avowed as such, are cruel things, and hard to be endured by human flesh. But who can bear the exquisite, the soul-torturing meanness and cruelty of Northern magnanimity and justice? Good Lord deliver us!"

This review of Dr. Draper's History is replete with blunders and historical errors. Indeed they swarm on every page, and their name is Legion. We will make but one more extract, which is found on page 41:—"The South did not struggle for 'supremacy in the Union.' We merely struggled, as we have already conclusively shown, for that 'defensive power' in the Union, which the founders of the Republic deemed essential to her 'freedom, safety, and happiness.' The South struggled for Independence; the North for Empire. The one struggled in vain, the other with complete success. The North not only struggled for, but she acquired a complete ascendancy in both branches of Congress, as well as in the bone and sinew of the country. She not only acquired that fearful ascendancy, but she used it for the destruction of the South." Can any truthful man, at all acquainted with the history of the Union, read such a passage as the above, and not wonder in what school of history the writer was educated? Here are revelations in the philosophy of history which are on a par with anything in the fanciful theories of James Anthony Froude.

In a rather philosophic as well as historical review of "The Nature of Civil Liberty," the leading article in the April number of 1868, it is assumed that the end of the Republic has been reached. These are the words of the reviewer of the Southern Review:

"The voluntary Union of States organized by them lasted three-score years and ten. Individuals now living have seen it both in the cradle and in the grave. This is a short life for a great government. But however short when compared with those governments which have been permitted to grow and to develop themselves from within, it is exceedingly long when compared with those which, like itself, have been made to order, and imposed from without. Among such

constitutions it has stood, like Methuselah among men, the oldest ever seen or known.

"We are told by President Lincoln that the Constitution of 1787 was like 'the fundamental law of all national governments,' designed by its authors to live forever. If so, the design has certainly failed; and the highest praise of its authors is, that they have eclipsed all other legislators in the sublime art of constitution-making."

After quoting a passage from Lieber's work on civil liberty, in which he remarks that the first half of our century produced more than three hundred political constitutions, and that it is in history as in nature, few of the seeds that germinate grow up to be trees, and of all the 'millions of blossoms but few ripen into fruits. To which opinion the reviewer adds: "Ours was the most respectable plant among them all. But even this, it must be admitted, was more remarkable for the magnificence of its blossoms than for the permanent value of its fruits. It has certainly distilled some of the most intoxicating and deadly poison the world has ever seen."

From the discussion of the "Nature of Civil Liberty" let us turn to another article in the same number of the Southern Review for April, 1868, entitled, "Federal Policy and Northern Prisons." Of course Captain Wirz's trial is a fruitful theme for the pen of the Southern reviewer of rebel war literature, and of it he says: "But behind all this there was a hidden purpose on the part of the Administration, which it failed to accomplish. The real object of the trial was not so much the conviction of Wirz as the implication of Mr. Davis and General Lee in an imaginary plot to torture Federal prisoners, to withhold from them clothing, to deprive them of food, to poison them with foul water, and, by deliberate and atrocious barbarity and cruelty, to murder them as rapidly as possible. The utter failure of this design can excite no surprise. Even the bitterest enemies of Mr. Davis cannot stain his name with such reproach as this; and those who know aught of General Lee can but smile at such an attempt to defame his high character."

"It is hard to conceive, in this enlightened age, that such charges could be made against any civilized human being. It is difficult to

believe that any people, boasting high education and refinement, could imagine that Christian men could be guilty of such wanton barbarities. But the truth is, the idea was suggested by the people of the North. *The system was inaugurated, practiced, and if one may use the term, perfected by them.* They sought to subjugate the South, not by civilized warfare, but by savage atrocity, by fire as well as sword, by ruthless cruelty and inhuman torture. They condemned thousands of captive men to months of dreary prison confinement for the purpose of draining the life from the South, and of rendering it unable to do battle against the North," (pages 279-280.)

Of the treatment of rebel prisoners at the North, the writer says, on page 282 of the same number of the Southern Review: "In every large prison in the North cruelty was systematically practiced for the purpose of forcing prisoners to take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government, or in case of their refusal, of enfeebling their health to such an extent as to render them unfit for military service on their return to the South." Again on page 283: "There were a dozen prisons at the North in either one of which the treatment of prisoners was utterly disgraceful and barbarous, exceeding in tyrannical cruelty anything that was developed in the Wirz trial, even upon the testimony of Government witnesses. No tribunal will ever arraign the officers who committed these atrocities; no judicial sentence will ever condemn the functionaries who countenanced and approved them, and indeed directed their perpetration. Of most of them no record will be kept. It is difficult now to get the brave men, who suffered in silence, to speak of the treatment which they were forced to undergo as it deserves to be spoken of. The accounts from all these prisons are much the same. The same systematic torture prevailed in every one of them, and the sufferings of the Southern prisoners were intensely aggravated by the inhumanity of the negro guards, who were in most instances detailed for prison police duty."

On page 305 the same writer adds: "For more than four years the Northern press was muzzled, and the truth was not only persis-

tently concealed, but was wilfully perverted. Much as we have heard of the horrors of war we have as yet formed no adequate conception of the vindictive malignity with which the South was persecuted, or of the inhumanities which were perpetrated by officers of the Federal army, under countenance of and by instruction from the Federal Government." And yet in view of all this rodomontade about the sufferings of rebel prisoners at the North, which the writer in the *Southern Review* attempts to prove entirely from private sources, and in most instances giving only the initials of the witnesses, the Republican party is accused of keeping up the dead issues of the war. The North can never willingly be a party to the falsifying of history, and when the treatment of prisoners of war is under discussion, Andersonville can never be forgotten. It fills up the measure of human atrocity and barbarity. In our generosity we may bury it out of sight, if the Democrats are content to allow its awful chapters of human miseries to remain in oblivion, but when any attempt is made to lessen its horrors by running a parallel between the conduct of the North and the South as to the treatment of prisoners, Andersonville, unbidden, will loom up as the very impersonation of devilish torture and inhumanity. Its story on the page of history will appear to future generations as the blackest and foulest episode of the American rebellion.

It is by no means a pleasant task to follow the writers of the *Southern Review* through pages of exaggeration and unfounded assertion, but before we conclude we must draw again from this unexhausted mine of rebel sentiment a few more extracts. In the April number of 1870 the leading paper is entitled "The Rise, Progress, and Decay of the Principle of Popular Sovereignty." From it we take the following passage, a comparison between Rousseau and Edward Everett:

"The one sometimes has a lucid interval in which profound truths escape him; the other is always rapt in the same exalted strain of a shallow but showy rhetoric. In the 'fire-mist' of the one we sometimes see a great solid thought standing out like a star; in the broad gleam or the beautiful moonshine of the other we never behold any-

thing more than the mere shadow of a thought, or the dim dawn of an idea. If any one imagines that we have done Mr. Everett injustice, or that human language could do him injustice, as a political dreamer, let him read the whole passage from which we have just selected only a few words. He will there find that this celebrated rhetorician not only deduces 'the right of suffrage,' that precious morsel of sovereignty from the natural equality of all men, but also holds it up as 'a great and substantial happiness' for every man, not even excepting the most ignorant Irishman or the most brutal Dutchman who may have come from Europe to America in search of his birth-right. The simple truth is, however, that it was on this principle of universal suffrage, as a natural and reserved right, that we opened here, in this New World, 'a grand asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and the oppressed of all nations came and trampled us in the dust; but before this could be done all the checks and barriers of the Constitution were broken down, and the Demos became an absolute, unlimited monarch.'—(Page 261.)

Let our foreign-born citizens note the import of this passage from the pen of Mr. Tilden's Democratic confere in this Presidential campaign as well as in the rebellion. With another extract we bid adieu to the pages of the *Southern Review*, and it is from the same article (page 271):

"Daniel Webster pronounced our form of government 'the last hope of the world.' It was only the last madness of a self-idolizing nation. How many such 'last hopes of the world,' with all their magnificent illusions, will have to be exploded before the nations cease to forget God it is not given us to see; time alone can raise the veil of the future. But of one thing, at least, we feel perfectly sure; and that is, that in no form of civil government alone will mankind ever find a permanent cure and rest."

The opinions promulgated in the *Southern Review* since its revival at the close of the war are shared by its Democratic sympathizers at the North. Our space will not permit us to make very copious extracts from Democratic organs, hence we have selected the leading Northern Review of the same ilk—*Brownson's Quarterly*—revived by its proprietor, the late Dr. Brownson, in January, 1873.

In the initial number of that periodical, which has a large influence among Democratic readers, we find such passages as these: "We had no respect for Mr. Lincoln's

administration, for it was based on no principle, and was a series of blunders from beginning to end. It succeeded, indeed, in suppressing what we held to be a rebellion, but which on its principles, as far as principles it had, was no rebellion at all; but it did it at a terrible and unnecessary waste of life, and by contracting an equally unnecessary public debt, which is a burden on the national industry, and will be for years to come."—(Page 95.) Again on page 97: "We have always preferred Southern to Northern society. Its superiority was proved in the civil war, in which the South showed a unanimity, an energy, a hardihood, a spirit of endurance, and a power of sacrifice that we found not in the North. The Federals had as much military science and skill as the Confederates, but their armies were less efficiently commanded and handled. The Confederate armies were organized under their natural leaders, while it is the misfortune of the North to have no natural leaders, no natural aristocracy; or if it has them it does not recognize them. A manufacturing and shop-keeping people appreciate only the talent that succeeds in the business world—a talent of no account in military command or in statesmanship."

"For ourselves, we utterly repudiate the whole negro policy of the Government; we are glad for the *sake of the whites* that slavery is abolished, and therefore we make no war on the thirteenth amendment, but we repudiate the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. We may be forced to submit to them, but no force shall ever make us accept them, in our conviction, as any part of the Constitution."

Such sentiments are no honor to "a child of the North;" especially if he be a Catholic, in view of the fact that the first voice raised against African slavery, and that, too, *not out of regard for the whites*, was the voice of a Dominican monk and confessor of Charles the Fifth, the illustrious Dominic Soto of Tridentine name. It is upon his memory and that of his followers that Sir James Mackintosh, in his *Ethical Philosophy*, lavishes this splendid encomium: "It is hard for any man of this present age to conceive the praise which is due to the excellent monks who courageously asserted the rights of those whom they never saw, against the prejudices of their order, the supposed interest of their religion, the ambition of their government, the avarice and pride of their countrymen, and the prevalent opinion of the times."—(Vol. 1, page 52.)

THE SPOILS SYSTEM—THE OFFSPRING OF MODERN DEMOCRACY AND THE SOURCE OF NUMBERLESS EVILS TO THE COUNTRY.—BY TRUMAN SMITH.

There are, no doubt, very serious evils besetting the country and its government, some of which originated in causes implanted in our political system during the first quarter of the century that commenced on the 4th of March, A. D. 1789, others during the second quarter of that century, and the residue during the third, and we, the people of the United States, are now, that is to say, at just about the middle of the fourth quarter, partaking of the bitter fruits of that implantation to the fullest extent. No adequate exposition can, within the limits which I have prescribed to myself, be here undertaken of the nature and operations of the causes referred to. But, speaking generally, I must be permitted to

say, as the result of some observation and more reflection, that the evils thus produced are deep seated and exceedingly difficult to be dealt with. The effect has been to revolutionize the Legislative and Executive Departments of our government to an alarming extent. Unless we can retrace our steps in that particular the consequences are certain to be very serious and may prove fatal.

One of the most efficient of the causes producing this result is the system usually denominated "spoils," so vehemently denounced by Mr. Schurz in his eloquent address to the country in the name of the conference held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. The evils of this system result from an abuse of both the appointing power and the re-

moving power, the latter being, in my judgment, far more mischievous than the former.

As this may not be fully understood, some explanatory remarks may not be without their use. I therefore observe that for the appointing power to confer office under the promptings of personal or party favoritism, or from any other motive than to get a fit, if not the fittest, man for the place to be filled, is a violation of duty and a very serious abuse. The evil, however, to result, in the case of a new administration, from this cause would, in the absence of an abuse of the removing power, be comparatively limited. It could not extend beyond appointments to fill vacancies, and it is not at all probable that all or even most of such appointees would prove incompetent or untrustworthy. But the moment the removing power is abused then greater scope is given for an abuse of the appointing power, and whenever or wherever both are brought into activity, the "spoils system" is fully inaugurated and soon produces intolerable evils. There should go forth from a liberty loving people an imperative demand for "civil service reform."

What are those evils? Let us take a note of them:

(1) It disseminates all over the country the idea that men can get a living out of the government; and it is not at all extravagant to say that the number who embrace and act on that idea ever exceed the number of places to be filled by ten or twenty fold.

(2) The system serves to introduce into our national politics the element of venality, and that to such an extent as to make it the principal propelling power of all the political movements of the country.

(3) It gives to our party contests very great exasperation, and prevents a proper consideration and just appreciation, by multitudes, of questions frequently of great, sometimes of vital importance.

(4) It is believed that it has had no small effect in giving a factious character to the proceedings of our legislative assemblies, particularly to those of Congress, from which nearly all of the dignity, moderation, and reserve, and much of the enlightened

statesmanship which characterized that body in the earlier and better days of the Republic seem to have departed. How much of that has appeared during the present Congress let the people judge.

(5) It attaches to that body an alternation of character, first electioneering, as in the case of the present Congress, where the principal object occupying the attention of members is obviously the pending Presidential election, and then, should Mr. Tilden be elected, the next will become a "spoils" Congress, and how much the attention of its members would be occupied with that subject I need not say. It is sufficient to add that, unless we can get rid of this system, we are to have hereafter, as we have had in the past, first electioneering, then spoils, and the same alternation over and over again, resulting almost uniformly in a great neglect of the public business, and not unfrequently in the adoption of measures uncalled for, if not mischievous, for the purpose of making party capital, and accompanied with an immense amount of humbug oratory, all to be printed at great public expense, in what is called the Congressional Record, nine-tenths of which, at least, is nothing but a record of folly and nonsense.

(6) Another effect which I deprecate is the inducement which it holds out to the official corps, for the time being, to take an unseemly part in elections, particularly Presidential. If it be assumed that on the incoming of a new administration incumbents are, without regard to merit, to be removed, they would have to be something more than human if they did not take a deep interest in the contest, and act accordingly. But if "spoils" could be extirpated, and the old tenure of good behavior re-established, they would be placed in the same situation that the officers of the Army and Navy are now in, taking an interest in public affairs, but never appearing as partisans.

(7) But much has been said of the ability of the official corps to keep the control of public affairs in the hands of the party in the ascendancy for the time being. But something can be said in derogation of that idea.

Many of that corps are employed abroad. Many have duties to discharge in localities distant from their homes or sphere of influence, as in the departments at Washington. Many have so much to do in their proper places that they have no time to enter into politics, and others are averse to doing so. No doubt but that at the occurrence of a Presidential election the party in power will, if the spoils system is to be continued, derive considerable strength from this source.

(8) But be it known that the power of the office-holders to keep a party in place is but the "small dust of the balance" in comparison with the power of the office-seekers to turn it out. It is safe to assume that the number of the latter will ever be at least ten to one of the former. In this state of the case the effect of this system is ever to put into the hands of the opposition all of the honors and emoluments in the gift of the Government (the former being quite as reductive as the latter) as an enormous corruption fund to be used in carrying any pending Presidential election. Its silent effect in favor of the candidate of the opposition will ever be great, but let it be put under the control of some experienced and adroit organizer and he can make it prodigious. What is wanted, in this business of selecting a President, is that everybody should act disinterestedly or from patriotic motives; but this "spoils system" tends to bring forward a vast horde of men to take part in the contest, some in office, many more out, but who intend to get in, all prompted to effort by self-interest, and not a few resorting to means, to realize their object, which are corrupt and corrupting in a high degree.

But the "spoils system" does not stand alone in evil-doing; it has associated with it what is called the convention system, the two being complements of each other and by their action and reaction greatly aggravating the evils of both. I affirm that the convention system is merely the handmaid of the "spoils system," and that the latter being abrogated the former will be, by no means, indispensable, or rather there will be little or no use for it. Why can we not, henceforth, get along as the fathers did from

'89 to '29, during which public sentiment indicated who should be the candidate of the party in the ascendancy from time to time. In like manner public sentiment may indicate a candidate for the opposition. What if the electoral colleges should differ in casting their votes as they did in 1824; and what, if in consequence the choice of the President, from the three citizens having the largest number of votes, should be thrown into the House of Representatives? What evil would be done? Was not the administration of John Quincy Adams far better than any one we have had since? The sole object of the convention system is to concentrate the electoral vote, and that has been too often used for the realization of extreme party purposes. But if one party continues this system the other is likely to do so. And then it becomes highly important that there should be in each an independent body of men to hold them in check. When will any such body of men appear in the Democratic party? Recent events would seem to indicate never, unless they are further disciplined by the people as the Republicans have been, to their no small improvement.

Few persons seem to be aware that these two systems, to wit: "spoils" and convention, were not introduced until after the lapse of more than forty years from the inauguration of Washington as President on the 4th of March, 1789. I had been practicing law over fourteen years, commencing in 1818, before I ever heard of a party convention, either National, State, or otherwise, or of any one going to Washington after an office. Up to that time there had been no removals at the seat of the National Government except for cause, and the tenure by which office under it was held was that of competency and good behavior. Very few removals were made, even for cause, and all were, of course, reappointed at the expiration of their respective terms, with the same exception. This appears from the following table, which is authentic:

REMOVALS FROM WASHINGTON TO ADAMS,
INCLUSIVE.

Removed by—	Not renominated—
Washington.....	10
Adams, John.....	8
Jefferson.....	58
Madison.....	17
Monroe.....	17
Adams, J. Q.....	4
	114
	19

Such was the happy condition of the country, in this respect, up to the close of John Quincy Adams' administration in March, 1829, when a great revolution was effected, the consequences of which we are experiencing this day. How and under what circumstances it will now be my business to explain.

It is well known that President Jackson entered the White House, at the year named, in a frame of mind by no means favorable to Mr. Clay and his friends. That distinguished statesman (Mr. Clay) had, at the election of a President by the House in 1825, (of which he was Speaker,) caused by his influence General Jackson to be defeated and Mr. J. Q. Adams to be elected notwithstanding the former had a considerable plurality of votes. This proceeding excited in the mind of the General intense resentments, and it is not too much to say that he entered upon the discharge of his Presidential duties with passions of a very formidable character. In this state of the case two of the ablest and most adroit of the New York Democracy were at hand, and they, taking advantage of this state of his feelings, induced him to transfer this spoils system from Albany to Washington and to introduce it into our national politics. He, or rather those acting under him, turned out nearly the whole official corps, a large majority of whom (Mr. Adams having made only four removals) were undoubtedly the appointees of Jefferson, Madison, or Monroe.

The system having been introduced, two consequences followed: First, it became self-perpetuating. When an incoming President hurls out all incumbents of office for opinion sake—that is to say, all belonging to the opposite party, then, when the latter obtains power, as it is sure to do sooner or later, it will reciprocate the same treatment and resort to the same policy. In this way great and vital interests become the mere foot-ball of party. Secondly, the introduction of "spoils" at Washington led to the introduction of the same mischief into all the State and municipal governments of the country, so that it soon became "spoils," nothing but "spoils," National-wise, State-wise, City-wise, with the same corrupt and corrupting effect everywhere. It should be crushed out in the States and cities for the sake of the nation, and it should be crushed out in the

latter for the sake of the former. This view of the subject would seem to present a Herculean task, but it is believed that there is enough of intelligence, virtue, and patriotism in the country to undertake it with success.

The idea of elevating Mr. Tilden, a thoroughly-trained New York politician, to the Presidency in the expectation that he will do anything for the suppression, or even mitigation of this great evil, is too farcical to require comment or illustration.

That he contemplates a remorseless application of the political or party guillotine to the incumbents of office is manifest from his letter of acceptance, wherein, with a license only equalled by his financial expositions, he speaks of that body as being universally characterized by "inefficiency, peculation, fraud, and malversation of the public funds from the high places to the lowest," which he tells us "have overspread the whole surface like leprosy." What a pity it is that the distinguished gentleman did not recollect that there may be not only official leprosy but moral, and that this is displayed when a man spurs the ninth injunction of the sacred decalogue, "Thou shalt not bear false witness," which he did by the audacious language quoted.

In this way he unfurls the banner of "spoils," and flaunts it in the face of the nation. Proscription is to be remorseless if he obtains power, and the scenes which will follow in the event of his elevation to the Presidency need not be described.

But in Gov. Hayes we have a candidate who on this subject is perfectly reliable. In his letter of acceptance he takes strong grounds in favor of civil service reform by returning to the system established by Washington and the earlier Presidents, which consisted in making "the officer secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished." Any other reform of the civil service would be a stupendous humbug.

The objection that this policy would leave undisturbed an undue proportion of officers appointed by the present and former administrations amounts to nothing, for, at no remote day, there will be a change—as no party can hold the government perpetually.

The present opposition may elect the suc-

essor of Gov. Hayes, should he be called to to the Presidency, or they may come in at a later date, and then the new administration (the proper policy in this regard having been established) will have their chance. They can fill vacancies, and thus the alternations of success, first one party and then the other, will ultimately produce equality politically, or nearly so, in the official corps. Mr. Greeley took the ground that the way to resume specie payments was to resume—that is to say, to begin at once. So I say the way to reform civil service is to do so forthwith, which is an easy process, as we have only to determine that the hand of "spoils" shall not control patronage, or in other words, that the tenure of true merit shall not, at the bidding of party, be disturbed.

There is a consideration that may be urged in support of these views which I conceive to be of great moment, and that is that patronage in this country "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." How vast is the amount now in comparison with what it was in the days of Jefferson! how much vaster will it be at the end of the second! third! fourth! or fifth century of our national existence! How corrupting is it now! how much more so will it be then! The contemplation of this possibility is frightful and its realization could hardly fail to be fatal. Now I have to say, emphatically, that it is not possible to cut down patronage extensively, or of keeping it within reasonable limits except by adopting the policy suggested by Mr. Schurz, in the first instance, and since sanctioned and concurred in by Gov. Hayes in his letter of acceptance, to wit, that of a complete abandonment of the "spoils system."

If, in connection with the abolition of this system, we could secure amendments of the Constitution extending the Presidential term to six years, and rendering any incumbent ineligible to a subsequent term, we would thereby open to the people the most if not the only effective means for restoring both the Executive and Legislative Departments to their original condition. Certain it is that such a result could not fail to deliver us from many evils, and would greatly advance the public welfare in many ways.

I have neither time nor space to speak of

the importance of restoring the currency, nor of the measures which should be adopted to that end, nor of the vital importance to all classes, even the most humble, of maintaining the public credit, and of keeping the same at a high elevation, and of availing ourselves of the opportunity which would be then afforded to substitute for our outstanding bonds drawing six per cent. other obligations drawing four or four and a half per cent., thus greatly relieving the burdens of the people, and making the payment of the principal comparatively easy. These topics, particularly the first, will be brought into view during the present canvass, and should be gravely considered by the people.

Nothing can be more certain than that we urgently need a great moral, social, and political reformation, and Governor Hayes is the very best man to undertake it, so far as it falls within the sphere of the high office for which he has been named. Let no one for a moment entertain the vain idea that any large result can, if he is called to the Presidency, be obtained by his own unaided effort. Even if we had nothing else to do than to deliver the country from the curse of "spoils," it would be indispensable that he should be supported; it is equally so that he should be on the question of the currency, and in his efforts to secure to every citizen, whatever may be his complexion or race, the full enjoyment of all his rights, and in holding all violations of law and derelictions of duty, which he is officially bound to notice, to a stern responsibility. Moreover, if we are to have any such man in the Presidency, it is of the last importance that he should have the cordial co-operation of the two houses of Congress, for a hostile majority in either could and perhaps would thwart all his efforts. It is nearly if not equally so that he should be encouraged and sustained in a proper discharge of his duties by an enlightened public sentiment. To elevate such a man to that high position, throwing on him fearful responsibilities, and thus to abandon him to whatever fate may befall him, would seem to be not exactly the fair thing and a poor recognition of the indisputable fact that if we would have a good government we must

work for it. The maxim of the ancients that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," is proof conclusive that a nation of sluggards cannot enjoy that blessing long, and it is certain that they do not deserve to.

But there is a great civil conflict before us. Let us look over the field and see who are to be the parties to it. The first which attracts our attention is the great army of genuine reform, consisting of Lincoln Republicans and Liberal Republicans, to be re-enforced by no inconsiderable numbers of sound currency Democrats under the guidance of counsels substantially the same, and ready to move forward as one man for the realization of all that can be comprehended in that expression by electing Gov. Hayes to the Presidency and Mr. Wheeler to the Vice Presidency. In this they intend not only a reformation of the civil service and a restoration of the currency—not only the deliverance of the country from the curse of "spoils" and the curse of rag money, but a thorough overhauling of our national expenses with a view to their reduction wherever that is practicable, the correction of all abuses, and the introduction of such improvements in our finances as are best adapted to advance the public welfare. Every intelligent man can hardly fail to recognize the fact that, with a view to the reformation suggested, this can be little else than a preliminary conflict. It is utterly impossible to extirpate evils which were long ago implanted in our system and have grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength, as the result of one Presidential election. It is likely to take more than one decade. With the determination to continue the struggle till a thorough reform, particularly in the matter of "spoils," is realized, it is of high importance that disinterestedness should pervade our ranks, and if there be any who appear to be actuated by a desire to make anything of honor or profit out of the result, let him or them be sent instantly to the rear. So much for the army of reform.

Now let us look for a few moments to the opposite forces, at the head of which stands Gov. Tilden of New York, and as his second, Gov. Hendricks of Indiana, in disrespect of whom I will say nothing. In their front is

unfurled the flag of Democracy, (so-called,) and it is not to be denied that there is to be collected around it a large body of men, which, in the aggregate, I am not disposed to speak of lightly. It is not difficult to detect the influences under which this force has been brought together and by which it has been induced to act as a unit for the purpose of securing a result of the election favorable to themselves. At the close of the current Presidential term the Democracy of the country will have been excluded from power for sixteen long years—the leaders South by active participation in the rebellion, and the leaders North by their unpatriotic course in that regard.

But to be consigned to private life is to these leaders an intolerable evil; hence they have been making for several years strenuous endeavors to raise some new issue or issues to enable them to regain place and power.

But the Democracy North can do nothing without the co-operation and assistance of Democracy South, and this involves the restoration of the latter to a participation (and a large one, too,) in the control of the Government. I want, nothing unreasonable of those who so recklessly involved us in the late deplorable war, and caused oceans of blood and myriads of treasure to be sacrificed to maintain the integrity of the Union, but that they should acquiesce (as the lamented Orr of South Carolina did) in the results of that war. But we know there has been no such acquiescence. The recent terrible massacre at Hamburg, S. C., and many other out and out murders committed with impunity in various parts of the South, are proof conclusive on this point. No doubt there are not a few truly good citizens at the South who condemn these outrages, though usually acting with the Democratic party. But this amounts to but very little. They do nothing to bring the perpetrators to condign punishment. Let the people of the North come to an inexorable determination that the Democratic leaders South shall be excluded from place and power until an end is put to the homicidal license of that section, and they may rest assured that the remedy will be effectual. The election of Hayes and Wheeler

is exactly the sort of discipline which they now need. It would do them a great deal of good.

In this state of the case there is no doubt but that, if law and order should be maintained throughout the South, and the 14th and 15th amendments be permitted to have their proper effect, the Democratic party would, at the approaching election, carry about two-thirds of the late slaveholding States, and the Republicans would carry the rest; but, with the bowie-knife and pistol brought into activity, even to a limited extent in each, they (the Republicans) would be likely to lose all. It is my unhesitating belief that, unless we are to have the right man at the head of the Government from and after the 4th of March next, those amendments will not be worth the paper on which they are printed. I mean no disrespect to Mr. Tilden when I say that, in my opinion, he is not that man. The agency by which he is to be carried into the Presidency is a coalition between the Northern and Southern Democracy, and between the Democracy of hard money and the Democracy of soft, resorting to all manner of false pretenses, raising all sorts

of humbug ories, trying to create expectations which every intelligent man knows cannot be realized, (as, for example, relief from distress, now great,) and pretending to an enormous excess of zeal, virtue, and love for the dear people. These are means such as are usually resorted to by the Democracy of the State of New York, which, in my judgment, is far less to be trusted than that of any other State in the Union. It has done much more than that of all the other States taken together to corrupt our politics and to demoralize the country.

Shall we, then, under its auspices, be swindled out of the opportunity which we now have to restore the currency? reform the civil service by killing off "spoils?" improve the state of our finances, (which can be so done as to alleviate, to some extent, the burdens of the people?) to correct abuses? and, in short, to make no inconsiderable progress towards raising the Government to the high position which it originally occupied, where, only, can it be a suitable organ for the expression of the will of a great and free people.

STAMFORD, CONN., 1876.

COUNTING OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

How the vote of the Electoral Colleges shall be counted, and by whom, are grave questions just now agitating the public press. What says the Constitution, the fundamental law of the Republic? What say the antecedents of the two houses in counting the vote? Art. II, sec. I, of the Constitution says: "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted." That clause is superseded and annulled by Art. XII of the amendments, which says: "The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted." Even the language of the original article and that of the amendment is identical, and the meaning and purposes of the two are precisely the same.

The Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States fixed by a resolution of September 13, 1788, "the first Wednes-

day in January" following as "the day for appointing electors in the several States which before the said day shall have ratified the said Constitution;" "the first Wednesday in February" following as "the day for the electors to assemble in their respective States and vote for a President," and "the first Wednesday in March" following as "the time and the present seat of Congress [New York] as the place for commencing proceedings under the said Constitution."

Accordingly, the Senate at New York, on the 6th of April, 1789, no quorum of that body having previously appeared, ordered, after the election of John Langdon, of New Hampshire, as President, "that Mr. Ellsworth inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is formed; that a President is elected for the sole purpose of opening the certificates and counting the votes of the electors of the several States in the choice of a President and Vice Presi-

dent of the United States; and that the Senate is now ready, in the Senate Chamber, to proceed, in the presence of the House, to discharge that duty; and that the Senate have appointed one of their members to sit at the clerk's table to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared, submitting it to the wisdom of the House to appoint one or more of their members for the like purpose."

That was the first count of the vote of the Electoral Colleges for President—the earliest precedent under the Constitution of the counting of that vote, was adopted and followed without a challenge or objection from any member of either house, composed, as the two houses were, so largely of the able men who, in the Constitutional Convention, had participated in the framing of our organic law, and is decisive of their understanding of that clause of the Constitution which provides for the counting of the electoral vote—that is, that it shall be counted and declared by the President of the Senate in the presence of the two houses.

The terms and language which they use could not be simpler or clearer. It announces that a President of the Senate had been elected by that body for the purpose of "opening the certificates and counting the votes of the electors" in the choice of a President of the United States; that, "in the presence of the House," "the Senate is ready, in the Senate Chamber"—its own hall—"to proceed to discharge that duty;" that "the Senate" had appointed one of its members to sit at the clerk's table to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared by the President, and submits it to the wisdom of the House to appoint one or more of its members for a similar duty—to perform the clerical labor of making a list of the votes as they were counted and declared by the President of the Senate.

Under this notification by the Senate, the House, on the same day, the 6th of April, 1789—

Resolved, That Mr. Speaker, attended by the House, do now withdraw to the Senate Chamber, for the purpose expressed in the message from the Senate; and that Mr. Parker and Mr. Heister be appointed on the part of this House to sit at the clerk's table

with the member of the Senate, and make a list of the votes as the same shall be declared."

That is, make a list of the votes as the same shall be declared by the person counting—by the President of the Senate. The House performed no function in the count. It simply attended, without objection or demurrer, in the Senate Chamber, and witnessed the opening and counting of the vote by the President of the Senate. It then withdrew to its own hall, and recorded the result as thus declared. After the withdrawal of the House Mr. Langdon in the Senate declared that the Senate and House had met, and that he, the President of the Senate, in their presence, had opened and counted the votes of the electors for President and Vice President of the United States, giving the vote, "Whereby it appeared that George Washington, Esq., was elected President, and John Adams, Esq., was elected Vice President of the United States of America."

At the second count of the electoral vote, in 1793, a concurrent resolution, reported from a joint committee of the Senate and House, was adopted, providing "that the two houses shall assemble in the Senate Chamber on Wednesday, [the 13th of February, 1793,] that one person on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House be appointed as tellers to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared"—not to perform any judicial or supervisory function in the count of the vote, but to perform the clerical labor of making a list of the votes as they shall be declared—"that the result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall announce the state of the vote and the persons elected to the two houses assembled as aforesaid, which shall be deemed a declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President," &c. The two houses accordingly assembled in the Senate Chamber. "The certificates of the electors of the fifteen States in the Union, which came by express, were by the Vice President opened, read, and delivered to the tellers appointed for the purpose, who, having examined and ascertained the votes, presented a list of them to the Vice President," who after reading the list to the two houses de-

clared George Washington and John Adams elected President and Vice President of the United States for the four years from the 4th of March, 1793. A list of the votes, "as the same were declared by the President of the Senate in the presence of the two houses," was ordered by the House to be recorded on its journal.

At the count of the vote of the Electoral Colleges for the third Presidential term, in 1797, similar proceedings were had by the two houses, with the exception that the two houses, by agreement, met in the hall of the House of Representatives. These proceedings were continued down to the adoption of the Twenty-second Joint Rule in 1865. At no time prior did the House pretend to any judicial functions in the counting of the vote—to any power to determine the legality or validity of the vote of an elector. Nor, indeed, did either House. That they left with the States, where the Constitution places it. Among the able men in the two houses, in the early counts of the votes of the Electoral Colleges—the men who had participated in the framing of the Constitution, and may be supposed to understand its true meaning and purposes—such men as James Madison, John Langdon, Caleb Strong, Ellbridge Gerry, Oliver Ellsworth, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, etc.—an usurpation so dangerous was not entertained. They regarded the counting of the vote, as the Constitution makes it, simply a ministerial act, to be performed by the President of the Senate, in the presence of the two houses, which are present as witnesses of the act, and as guarantees to the nation of the good faith of the count of the votes as cast by the electors—nothing more.

In that they were followed by their successors. The first objection to the count of a vote a State, by a member of either house, was at the count of the votes for the eighth Presidential term, in February, 1817, when Mr. Taylor, of New York, a member of the House, objected to the counting of the vote of Indiana, not on the ground of fraud or illegality in the appointment of its electors, nor on that of informalities in certifying its votes, but for the reason that at the date of

its choice of electors Indiana was not a State in the Union. On motion, the Senate withdrew to its own chamber. It took no action on the objection. In the House, in the discussion which followed, Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, resisted the authority of Congress over the subject, and Mr. Robertson, of Louisiana, deprecated the agitation of the question: "he could not recognize the right of the House, or the Senate, to decide on the rights of the States; and to question the sovereignty of an independent State after its admission into the Union was a matter of dangerous tendency." The House indefinitely postponed all consideration of the objection. It notified the Senate of that fact. That body returned. The vote of Indiana was counted, the count concluded, and the result announced by the President of the Senate.

At the next count of the vote of the Electoral Colleges, in February, 1821, for the ninth Presidential term, Mr. Livermore, of New Hampshire, a member of the House, objected to the vote of Missouri on the same grounds—that at the date of the appointment of its electors it was not a State in the Union. The Senate, on motion, withdrew to its own chamber. It, however, took no notice of the objection. In the House, on motion of Henry Clay, all proceedings in reference to the objection was laid on the table, and the Senate notified that the House was ready to continue the count. The Senate returned. The vote of Missouri was counted, the count finished, and the result announced to the two houses by the President of the Senate.

In February, 1837, at the count of the vote of the Electoral Colleges for the thirteenth Presidential term, the same objection was urged against the vote of Michigan. Similar proceedings followed, and the vote of the State was counted. At this count, some of the Whigs, in the heat of party, felt disposed to challenge or question the competency, under the Constitution, of some of the Democratic electors appointed by different States—North Carolina, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. They were deputy postmasters at the date of their election. But Governor Thomas, of Maryland, a promi-

ment and leading Democrat, and a member of the committee on investigation into the subject, urged, in reply to Mr. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia, "that it would be a very delicate power to be exercised on the part of Congress to determine upon the qualifications of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States. It was with the committee also a matter of considerable doubt whether if such an inquiry be gone into, it did not belong to the Electoral College itself to judge of the qualifications of its own members."

And Mr. Cambreling, of New York, the distinguished Democratic leader of the House, added, "what had been omitted by the gentleman from Maryland, that it appeared, from examining the list of reappointments of deputy postmasters, that the gentlemen referred to had probably all resigned before they gave in their votes for President and Vice President."

In February, 1857, in the count of the vote of the Electoral Colleges, Mr. Letcher, of Virginia, called attention to the fact that the vote of the State of Wisconsin was cast on the 4th day of December instead of the first Wednesday of that month, (which was the 3d,) and objected to the count of the vote of that State. A heated wrangle ensued. Finally, Mr. James M. Mason, a States' Rights Senator from Virginia, and the President of the Senate, announced the result of the vote to the two houses, and retired with the Senate to the Senate chamber. A debate in the two houses followed without any further action by either. The Democracy sustained the count. In the Senate, Mr. Stuart, of Michigan, a leading Democratic Senator, in support of the count and the action of Mr. Mason, quoted the declaration of Chancellor Kent, that "in the absence of all legislative provisions on the subject the President of the Senate counts the votes and determines the result, and that the two houses are present only as spectators to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction," &c. Mr. Stuart added: "That is precisely the view which I sought to present to the Senate yesterday. I disagree, therefore, with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Thompson] when he supposes

this is a count by the Senate. It is a count by the President of the Senate. To secure fairness and accuracy, it is a public count before two responsible organized bodies under the Constitution. All that was done here in respect to the negotiation between the two houses was simply done in courtesy. It had no binding effect in law," &c.

It was only after the adoption of the Twenty-second Rule, in 1865, an usurpation in Congress as violent and flagrant as dangerous, that the pretension has grown up in the two houses of judicial power in Congress to determine the qualification of electors, to go behind the certificates of the executive authorities of the States, and pass upon the validity of the Electoral Colleges—that legal technical pleas or objections were entertained for the purpose of defrauding the States of their electoral votes—such as Judge Thurman's, at the last count in 1873, to the vote of Mississippi, on the ground that the certificates of the electors did not state that they had voted by ballot in the College, as required by the Constitution, for President and Vice President. The State may have fulfilled all the requirements of the Constitution. The electors may have actually voted by ballot. What was that to Thurman? The State had voted Republican, and because, in certifying the lists of votes, the electors committed a clerical error in neglecting to state that the vote had been by ballot, he would have robbed the State of its electoral vote—its people of their franchise. Nothing illustrates better or clearer the danger alike to the liberties of the citizen, and the independence and integrity of the States, of such an usurpation. A revolutionary or violent majority in either House, although a minority in the country, might at any time destroy an election by the people. By the exercise of a power so dangerous and never contemplated by the Constitution, by a resort to an usurpation so flagrant, the States' Rights Democracy now hope to disfranchise the States, to rob the majority of their choice of a President, and foist, as they did James K. Polk, in 1845, their rejected candidates upon the Republic.

Fortunately, and by the act of the Democracy, the Twenty-second Joint Rule has passed away, and the electoral count is remanded to the rule of the Constitution—to the precedents and rules of the fathers of the Constitution—which declare that the counting of the electoral vote is simply a ministerial act, to be performed by the President of the Senate, in the presence of the two houses, as witnesses of the act, and guarantees of its accuracy and good faith to the people and nation.

UNCLE SAMUEL'S HOUSEHOLD.

MY DEAR HARVEY: I am engaged in a general business of merchandizing, manufacturing, agriculture, and mining, and while a hundred years have passed since I opened my establishment I am still regarded as a young man. I have endeavored to get along peaceably with my neighbors, and have had but comparatively little serious trouble in that direction; I have always taught my boys not to quarrel, but rather to submit any differences that might arise to a peaceful arbitration; yet on a few occasions, when they have thought that the "old man" was being crowded on, they have taken the matter in hand in such a way as to induce the neighbors to treat me with respect. The boys have a familiar way of addressing me as the "old man," but more frequently as "Uncle Samuel."

The first difficulty I had was in 1776, just as I commenced business. This was altogether a family matter, my mother objecting to my having any ideas of my own. This annoyed me for some time, for I really did not want to have any unpleasant feeling in the family; but she had bad advisers, who said I must be thrashed into terms. So at last, when my boys couldn't stand the pressure any longer, they got mad and pitched in, and soon had things straightened out the way they wanted them; so that the old lady finally consented that I should run my business to suit myself.

After that was fixed I thought I had better have a plain and frank talk with my boys, and I told them that old story that Æsop used to tell about the bundle of sticks. You see at that time their interests were somewhat divided, agriculture being the principal thing that engaged their attention, and they were running thirteen different farms; so they got together and talked the matter over, and concluded they would combine the several tracts of land and place the general management in my hands, under my irrevocable control, making an agreement with me to that effect, reserving the right, however, to manage their own private affairs to suit themselves, but in such a way only as not to interfere with or be injurious

to other members of the family. So I took full charge and commenced to develop the business.

My matters progressed very satisfactorily until along in 1812, when I had succeeded so far as to be the owner of some vessels. My mother said she had the right—or at least she attempted to exercise it—of taking my boys out of my vessels and making them serve her; but the youngsters got their backs up at once and said they wouldn't stand any such nonsense as that. So they pitched in again and gave the fellows the old lady had got to fight for her a good sound drubbing, and she let my boys alone after that.

My business increased steadily, and from time to time, as I saw an advantageous trade, I kept on adding to my farm until somewhere about 1846 a very near neighbor wanted me to take his farm and add it to mine, and he would come into the family as an adopted son. I agreed to his proposition. But another neighbor said I shouldn't have the farm, and on his interfering in the transaction and showing fight my boys took off their coats and gave him a pretty severe thrashing, and after he had hollered "enough" my boys felt a little bad over it and proposed that I should soften down the licking they had given him by buying a big patch of ground from him. Well, in consideration of his being hard up and had more land than he could manage, and to show him there wasn't anything mean about me, I did buy quite a piece; and which by the way proved to be a good speculation, as it turned out a valuable mining property.

I have had some other *spats* with my neighbors, but they haven't amounted to much. The above are all the serious difficulties I have had, and I don't know but that I have been benefited in each case.

I have run my business a little peculiarly, I might say almost as a kind of an experiment in many ways. But one thing I early determined to do, and that was to keep open house for the children of my neighbors. I have been glad to welcome them at all times, have given them a bed and something to eat,

and after they should have been with me long enough to understand how I conducted my affairs, and they wanted to come into the family, I have adopted them; and one of the particular rules of my household has been that my boys should be free to go to any church that suited their notions. You see my mother used to crowd me a little on that, and I determined if ever I had a family I'd let my children do as they had a mind to about this matter. This course has worked very well, although some of the boys want to have a change in this regard. I keep my eye on them, however, and shall see that no interference is made.

I have my business divided into different branches, and from time to time I have put it under the management of my nephews. One of them called "Federal" run it for awhile, then another named "Democracy" took it; then I changed it under the direction of "Whig," and so on. These boys gave me a good deal of trouble and anxiety, and right here it may be as well for me to explain somewhat as to how I conduct my business. I put it under the more general superintendence of a Chief Clerk, who occupies an office at the white house at one end of the avenue, while in the counting-rooms in the large building on the hill I have two branches—one consists of a committee of two from each of the farms under my management, who give advice and counsel to my Chief Clerk, and who make inquiry into the character of persons he may wish to employ as general or special agents to take care of my affairs abroad, or to be intrusted with important duties immediately about the establishment, and in a general way to assist the Chief Clerk and see that he does not conduct the business in an extravagant manner. The other branch is particularly charged with making provision for the means to run the concern; to see that the Chief Clerk at all times has funds on hand to meet obligations as they become due; and these two committees, in connection with the Chief Clerk, are to determine the compensation of all the employés in the establishment.

You know in all families where there is any snap in the boys there is more or less wrangling and jealousies, and my family has not been an exception to this rule. My

nephews "Democracy" and "Whig" used to be at it continually, and each wanted me to employ persons they should recommend. For instance, on the indorsement of Democracy I appointed as Chief Clerk a man by the name of Jackson, who I kept for eight years, and he it was that started that idea I have never favored, which was that Democracy should have all the clerks that were to be employed, and he discharged all that was not of that family without any reference to their knowledge of the business, their being good salesmen, book-keepers, collectors, or their fidelity in the discharge of their duties. I almost determined to make a radical change when I got through with him, but concluded that I would try another one that Democracy had recommended by the name of Van Buren. He was a foxy kind of a fellow and I got rid of him as soon as I could; and then, on the recommendation of Whig, I appointed a man by the name of Harrison, who I fully believed would have made an efficient clerk, but unfortunately he died, and the one that had been selected as assistant Chief Clerk to fill the place of chief in the event of a vacancy in that position, a fellow by the name of Tyler, who proved to be a regular dead-beat, and instead of carrying out the ideas that I had promised Whig should be carried out, he run the business pretty much as Jackson and Van Buren had run it, (for the fellow was a renegade from that same family,) so that when his time was out he left without any recommendation from me, and with such a reputation that it would have been difficult for him to have obtained employment in any capacity anywhere. After that two other men were strongly urged, Clay and Polk. I was undecided for a time which I would take, but at last put the latter in complete charge, and it was while the business was under his management that I had that last difficulty about that land operation I have mentioned before.

My boys, however, didn't fancy him, and when his time was out, at the request of Whig, I appointed a blunt, plain, honest old fellow by the name of Taylor, who, after serving me faithfully for a short time, died, and was succeeded by the assistant, Fill-

more, under whom a very unpleasant family wrangle was quieted down.

The Democracy recommended a man by the name of Pierce, who I took more especially because Whig had been taken quite sick and wasn't really well enough to take much interest in my affairs. Democracy seemed to have got provoked that I had superseded the chief clerks that he had recommended, and appeared bent on so having things fixed as that he should be able to run the establishment to suit his notions, and, to accomplish this end, after he had got me to appoint the chief clerks that he wanted, and to have the two branches of the business in the counting-rooms under the control of members of his family, he commenced to upset positive agreements that had been made among the different members of the family—rules in the management of my affairs that it had been agreed on should never be changed. One especially which I called the Missouri Compromise. This raised a good deal of unpleasant feeling among the boys, and I plainly saw I was to have trouble. So when Pierce's time was nearly out and Whig being pretty sick, another nephew, a young fellow in his teens, but a well developed, manly boy by the name of Republican came to me and said if I permitted Democracy to interfere and upset my arrangements in the way that had been done my whole business would be ruined, that my trade would all go to pieces; and if I didn't keep my eyes open my establishment would be broken up. Well, while I listened to what Republican said, I hardly thought Democracy would attempt any very high-handed measures. Yet I told him I should make a change in the chief clerkship and very possibly in the other branches of my business. You see, the appointment of chief clerk always run for four years, and if they discharged their duties faithfully and the business prospered under their management I was inclined to continue them. I told Republican to name a man for the place, and also recommend persons to act as the committee in the counting-rooms; but, inasmuch as this part of my story is with the chief clerkship, I'll confine myself to that. Well, I had three persons indorsed for that

position—one by the name of Buchanan by Democracy, Fremont by Republican, and Fillmore, (who had once before filled the place,) by Whig and American, but the latter was not very strongly recommended, so I did not give much consideration to his application. Republican pressed his indorsement of Fremont very urgently, not so much for his qualifications to fill the position, but to prevent me from entertaining the appointment of the man that Democracy wanted, for he said he was certain if I appointed Buchanan he would bankrupt my concern.

Well, I suppose an open confession is good, so I'll confess that I did make a fool of myself, for I put Buchanan in charge. You see, he come from one of the farms that had never had any one in the position, and I suppose that was the inducement that influenced me. I ought to have known better than to have thought an old bachelor was at all fitted to fill so important a place. I am glad to say, however, that when his time was out he left my establishment with a worse character than that fellow Tyler.

It wasn't long after he took charge that my eyes were completely opened as to the schemes of Democracy, and I saw he was fully determined to rule my business, but my other boys said they had something to say in the matter, and my affairs got into a very unsatisfactory condition. There didn't appear to be any reason or decency left in Democracy; he seemed to be fully bent on mischief. Well, I can assure you I was glad when the time drew near for me to select a new chief clerk, for I wanted to get rid of that fellow Buchanan, for I never was so disappointed in a person in my life. He was unreliable, lacked firmness, mismanaged the affairs of the establishment, and, under his direction, everything got into a regular tangle. So, some months before his time was out, I told the boys to make their recommendations. Democracy got all his family together and talked the matter over. They had a good deal of sparring. Some of the members of that family had pretty high notions, and were going to have things their way *sure* or they would raise a fuss. Well their meeting broke up in a regular row and

there was a split, one part of the family recommending a man by the name of Breckinridge and the other part a man by the name of Douglas. Whig and American wanted me to take a man by the name of Bell, while Republican, who had grown out of his teens, indorsed another by the name of Lincoln. When these names were submitted to me, I rather favored the appointment of Lincoln, and this coming to the ears of that part of the family of Democracy that had recommended Breckinridge, they threatened that if I did appoint Lincoln they would cut loose from me, set up business for themselves and break up my concern. Well, they had threatened me a number of times before, and I was getting tired of it, so I made up my mind at once that I would settle that matter, and selected Lincoln to succeed Buchanan. When they saw I was determined they immediately set about stealing my money, weights, measures, yard-sticks, and other things necessary in my business, and secretly carrying them off to set up an opposition establishment; and some of them holding subordinate position and whose education I had paid for out of my own pocket, and who had promised to serve my interest faithfully in consideration therefor, actually robbed my money-drawer and ran away, and Buchanan permitted it all without attempting in any way to stop it.

You know an unruly child is a source of a good deal of trouble. David found it so in the case of Absalom, and when he attempted to break up his father's establishment David had to use pretty severe measures to make him understand that that couldn't be done.

Well, Democracy had a large family and it seemed as though all of them had fully made up their minds to do just as they were directed by the leading spirit, and it was like awakening from a dream when I found out at last that Democracy had perfected arrangements to control the affairs of some of the farms that had originally been given me to manage, and also to steal the title to others that I had bought, and that had been voluntarily deeded to me.

Democracy was so incensed about the matter of the appointment of Lincoln that he tried to kill him when he was on his way to take charge of my business. But thank

fortune the attempt was a failure, and he entered on the discharge of his duties. At that time I had a long conversation with him and told him that I wanted it distinctly understood that while I did not desire to have any difficulty with any members of my household I was determined that they should not break up my concern, and that if they did not behave themselves for him to pursue such course as would make them. Well, these unruly chaps laughed at me for all this, and then I told Lincoln that he had a pretty big job on hand, which couldn't very well be handled with gloves on; and having unbounded confidence in his integrity, common sense, and ability, and he understanding my views fully, I left the matter in his hands; and as it would be somewhat expensive to get back the things that had been stolen and put the establishment in good running order again I told him I would keep him supplied with the needed funds, although at that time I hardly knew how to raise the requisite amount, but my friends seeing my condition came to me and kindly loaned me what money I wanted, taking in some cases my obligations payable at stated times and in others my simple due bill.

But to make a long story short, for I don't want to weary you with my affairs, Lincoln had a good deal of trouble; but before I go any further I desire to say that a large number of the members of the family of Democracy, especially that portion of it that had recommended Douglas, came to me and said they had no sympathy in the scheme to break up my business, and they rendered very efficient assistance to Lincoln in getting the thing fixed up. I can assure you I felt, and always shall feel, grateful for the noble stand they took at that time.

Well Lincoln, under a weight of difficulties and anxieties that were enough to have broken down any other man, but measuring up to all the requirements of the case, at last succeeded in getting the matter settled, but not until he had given Democracy a severe lesson, and just as he had got back all the articles that had been stolen and was arranging to reorganize the establishment, the same wicked spirit that prompted the attempt to ruin me murdered him. A cruel act, for he was one of the most generous

hearted persons that ever lived, and did not harbor even an unkind thought towards those that had given him so much trouble. He was immediately succeeded by the assistant chief clerk, Johnson, who at once set about restoring my business where it had been interrupted and putting the concern in order, but he didn't seem to be very efficient, and my matters continued in an unsatisfactory condition until I selected a new Chief Clerk by the name of Grant, who had been recommended to me by Republican. I was prepared to have a good deal of confidence in this man Grant, from the fact that he had taken quite an active part in getting my affairs in shape again, he having been selected by Lincoln to take charge of all the detail of the out-door business. You see, in his early days he had learned what is called the manly art of self-defense, and had practiced with the gloves a good deal, so that he understood how to handle himself in an emergency, and it was under his more immediate direction that these unruly fellows found out that they had made a mistake, and he gave them a good trouncing before they would treat me with the respect due me.

It is now nearly eight years since I put Grant in charge of the business, and under his management my matters have assumed a more prosperous condition and the business has moved along very satisfactorily. Some persons have said that he has made mistakes. Well, he may have done so; he is human like the rest of us, but I have failed to discover any serious errors on his part. There may have been some speculations by the subordinate clerks, but, my gracious, nothing to compare with what was done under Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan; and it is only those members of the family of Democracy that indorse the management of these last-named persons that presume to criticize Grant, and I think it comes with ill grace.

He has proved himself a very clear-headed person and has shown marked ability in the discharge of his duties, and when he retires from his position I certainly shall give him as strong letters of recommendation as I have ever given to any who have served me in similar capacities. You see, when Grant took charge as chief clerk he found the business pretty badly demoralized—a good

many of my manufacturing establishments had been destroyed, storehouses burned, vessels out of repair, property scattered about, books not posted up, accounts to be collected, and a lot of detail that had to be attended to; besides, I was pretty heavily in debt. Well, he took hold in earnest and got all these matters fixed up very nicely, has largely reduced my indebtedness, so that I am a good many dollars better off than when he took charge and my business is in healthy condition.

Some time after Grant had been made Chief Clerk those friends that had loaned me money to carry me through my difficulties came to me and said, now that I had fairly got going again, they would like it if I would fix some date when I could pay them. They said while it was all right that I was good and responsible for anything I might owe, still they would like to know definitely when I would meet all my obligations, and hoped that I would fix a certain time when I would fully resume my payments, and they would arrange their business in accordance therewith. This request appeared to me as a reasonable one, for I remembered that at one time there was a man that owed me a hundred dollars, a man that had plenty of property but very little ready money. Well, I had carried his due-bill around for a while, but could not negotiate it satisfactorily on account of the uncertainty as to when he would be able to pay it; but when he gave me a note, due at sixty days after date, making the payment due at a definite time and place, I had no trouble in negotiating it, and making it available in my business. So I said to my friends that they could shape their business in accordance with my *promise to pay on the first day of January, 1879*. This was satisfactory, and I do not apprehend any difficulty in meeting the obligation.

You will remember that once before in this letter I had to make a confession that I had made a mistake, which was in the appointment of Buchanan on the recommendation of Democracy. Well, I've got now to confess to another. You see, some two years since Democracy came to me and said he had committed a great blunder in trying to break up my business, and he was sorry for

it and wanted me to take him back into the establishment. Well, I thought over the matter for some time, and finally I told him that I would try him again. So I put him in charge of one of the branches of my business in the counting-rooms on the hill, and I have regretted it ever since, for I have found him to be the same unreliable fellow that he used to be, and that he is not to be depended on at all. He has clogged my business, prevented me from having the means I need to conduct my affairs properly, interfered with my having suitable agents abroad to look after my interests, made wicked and malicious charges against some of my most trusted employés, prying into my private matters in an insolent manner, and going to the extent of saying that I shall do away with the date I have fixed for meeting my obligations, thus creating a want of confidence, and not only upsetting my own business, but that of my friends in producing such an uncertainty that they don't know how to act, and to cap the climax has had the audacity, in the face of all this, to recommend and insist that I shall appoint as Chief Clerk a man by the name of Tilden; and because I was foolish enough to let Democracy run this branch of the business it has caused great distrust of me, as it is feared that I will accede to his demands and make the appointment he desires; and this fear has caused a general prostration of business of all kinds, a feeling of uncertainty and want of confidence prevails everywhere, and the result is there is great suffering throughout the family.

Now, I want it distinctly understood that I shall not appoint Tilden, and for the reasons that I will briefly give you, founded on experience. First, he is recommended by Democracy, who in his slurs at me and my employés for the past year has been like the Irishman who laid speechless, crying nothing but water, water! So Democracy has been speechless, crying nothing but Reform, Reform! Now isn't it amusing that this fellow Democracy, who so lustily cries reform, is the same one who stole my weights, measures, yard-sticks, and money, and tried to break up my establishment, and on whose recommendation I appointed an old bachelor as Chief Clerk. You know the old adage, a

burnt child dreads the fire. Tilden is a bachelor, so was Buchanan; their indorser is the same; he can't be trusted. Besides, suppose I did appoint Tilden, I'd have a *hard* time while he run things; suppose he died and his assistant Hendricks should take charge, would I have a "*soft thing*" of it then? These two men don't agree in their ideas at all, and it is not difficult for me to remember the experience I had with Tyler in this regard. I hold it to be better to have persons of the same way of thinking where there is a possibility of each being in the same position. Again, neither of these men had any sympathy with me in my difficulties, and I really believe that all they care about is to see that all of the family of Democracy will get good fat positions in my establishment, and the rest of my family may get along the best they can. Besides, at the time I needed money so badly to give to Lincoln I asked my boys to give me a portion of their wages to help me out, and it now appears that at that time, although Tilden did give me something, he made false statements as to the salary he was receiving. I have no confidence in him, and shall not let him have anything to do with my business.

Republican has recommended a man by the name of Hayes and an assistant called Wheeler. These are the men I shall select, for the reason that they have an honest and earnest desire for my success in business; they have been weighed in the balance and not found wanting, they have been faithful in the subordinate positions they have filled; and besides, Republican having shown great wisdom and sound judgment in the selection of the Chief Clerks that he has heretofore recommended to me, I can trust his discernment and business shrewdness when he presents these names of Hayes and Wheeler, knowing, as I well do, that if by any event the Chief Clerkship should become vacant the assistant will ably, and in accordance with my wishes and the policy pursued by Hayes, carry on the business.

I wrote to both Tilden and Hayes as well as to Wheeler and Hendricks, when their names were given me to consider, to get their views as to the manner they would run my affairs. Hayes and Wheeler both, in a short pointed note, promptly answered my

letter in a frank, open, business manner, and in such a way as that I know what I can depend on, while Tilden and Hendricks delayed their replies; and when at last they did come I was perplexed to know what they were driving at. Tilden especially had got together a whole lot of words and stuck them in in such a way as that it is impossible for me to comprehend anything about it, or what his views are. I must have some one in that position now that I can depend on,

and I have made up my mind to appoint Hayes. But in doing so I hope that Republican and all the members of his family will make the recommendation as strong as possible, as I should be sustained in my conclusions by the name of every one of them to the petition for the appointment of the man of their choice.

Ever truly, yours,

"UNCLE SAMUEL."

WASHINGTON CITY.

REBEL WAR LITERATURE AN EXPONENT OF SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

THE PIRATE OF THE ALABAMA WRITES A BOOK.

Admiral Raphael Semmes, of rebel notoriety, published in 1869 his "Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War Between the States." The volume is gotten up by Kelley, Piet & Co., of Baltimore, and like all Southern war literature it is full of invincible malignity toward Northern people and institutions, Northern education, industry, and politics. The spirit of the book is the spirit of a section of our country which attempted the disruption of the Union, and the failure which brought disaster and ruin to the rebel army and navy has increased, in the large majority of cases of those who bore arms against the United States Government, an undying hate which will know of no reconciliation while the men who took part in the futile effort to establish a slave oligarchy on this continent are among the framers and leaders of public opinion and polity in the South. There may possibly be some palliation for the heated editorials of the Southern enthusiast, who throws off column after column of abuse of the Government and Administration under which, rebel though he be, he is protected in all constitutional rights, from the fact that his work is done in haste, without reflection, and, indeed, without the time necessary to consider the real force of words. But one reasonably expects to find in a book the deliberate convictions of an author—it is matured in the quietude of the study, thought over in no unseemly haste, and, even after the manuscript has left his hands, there is still a final opportunity to note

changes of thought, word, or expression when the proof is returned for correction. Hence there cannot be extended to an author the same degree of allowance as for the false statements and unwarranted conclusions which escape from the facile pen of an irate political editor. Semmes' book, therefore, may very justly be regarded as the complete exponent of the author's mind and feeling, the ripe expression of deliberate judgment, and it surely speaks for itself in no uncertain tone. We reproduce passages taken almost at random, and they require indeed no note or commentary. Their spirit, sentiment, and conviction represent all that sectional bitterness which is surely undermining good order, right government, and public and private morals in nearly every Southern State, which lights the torch in the hands of the incendiary and converts the rebel into a brutal murderer and midnight assassin.

THE PIRATE PRATES OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

On page 53 the pirate of the Alabama thus prates of the American Constitution which has given to the Republic its strength and stability among the great powers of the world—a constitution framed by his forefathers and to which he, as an American citizen and officer, owed an individual allegiance—a constitution which, while its provisions were followed, made us a happy and united people for over three quarters of a century—

"The American Constitution died of a dis-

ease that was inherent in it. It was framed on false principles, inasmuch as the attempt was made, through its means, of binding together, in a republican form of government, two dissimilar peoples, with widely dissimilar interests. Monarchical governments may accomplish this, since they are founded on force, but republican governments never."

THE PIRATE OF THE HIGH SEAS PRATES ABOUT
THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

With such a view of the Constitution which has been the guardian of liberty in the United States and the hope of thousands in the Old World, one is prepared for similar sentiments in regard to the Republic. On the same page Semmes says:

"The American Republic, as has been said, was a failure, because of the antagonism of the two peoples attempted to be bound together in the same government. *If there is to be but a single government in these States in the future it cannot be a republic.*"

THE PIRATE OF THE ALABAMA DISCHARGES A
VOLLEY OF WRATH AGAINST THE NORTH.

In a conversation with Captain Hillyar, of Her Majesty's steam frigate Cadmus, the pirate of the high seas discharges a volley of wrath against the North. The palpable absurdity of the passage must strike the mind of every candid reader:

"With the exception of a few honest zealots the canting hypocritical Yankee cares as little for our slaves as he does for our draught animals. The war which he has been making upon slavery for the last forty years is only an interlude or by-play to help on the main action of the drama, which is empire; and it is a curious coincidence that it was commenced about the time the North began to rob the South by the means of its tariffs. When a burglar designs to enter a dwelling for the purpose of robbery he provides himself with the necessary implements. The slavery question was one of the implements employed to help on the robbery of the South. It strengthened the Northern party, and enabled them to get their tariff through Congress, and when at length the South, driven to the wall, turned, as even the crushed worm will turn, it was cunningly perceived by the Northern men that 'No Slavery' would be a popular war-cry, and hence they used it. It is true we are defending our slave property, but we are defending it no more than any other species of our property; it is all endangered under a general system of robbery. We are, in fact, fighting for independence. Our forefathers made a great mistake when they warmed the Puritan serpent in their bosom;

and we, their descendants, are endeavoring to remedy it."

ANOTHER BROADSIDE AT THE "NORTHERN
HORDES."

Again, on page 343, this hero of the Lost Cause utters statements which are wholly void of truth:

"The Saracen had invaded our beloved land," he says, "and was laying it waste with fire and sword. We were battling for our honor, our homes, and our property—in short, for everything that was dear to the human heart. Yea, we were battling for our blood and our race, for it had been developed even at this early stage of the war that it was the design of the Northern hordes that were swarming down upon us not only to liberate the slave, but to enable him to put his foot upon the neck of his late master, and thus bastardize, if possible, his posterity. The blood of the white man in our veins could not but curdle at the contemplation of an atrocity which nothing but the brain of a demon could have engendered."

MAGNANIMITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Blinded by a prejudice which coolly characterizes the scholarship emanating from the two great seats of learning—Yale and Harvard—as pretentious, and the literature of the Republic, which is almost exclusively the product of the Northern section of our land, as *uncivilized*, what wonder is it that the New Englander is painted in such dark colors as the following extracts exhibit him? Eliminate from the literature and learning of the United States the contributions which New England has made to it and you have a meagre and sorry exhibit of American scholarship. Certainly the old slave States, with no system of public education, can boast of no very large share in the creation of our republic of letters. Never was a people more generous and magnanimous to a conquered foe than was the Federal Government at the close of the rebellion. Compare, if you please, the history of civil war in any country of the Old World with that of our own, and it seems a marvel that traitors and cut-throats were treated with such lenity. In less than ten years after the cessation of hostilities between loyalty and rebellion the Vice President of the defunct Confederacy was a member of the Congress of the United States, and associated with him in the halls of national legislation were officers of the

rebel army who had done all within the range of human power to dismember the country for which they now attempt to legislate. Talk of generosity and magnanimity with such facts patent to all the world!

THE PIRATE ANIMATES AND BECOMES IMPERTINENT.

Listen now to the impertinent language of Alabama Semmes:

"We should rather pity than condemn men who have shown, both during and since the war, so little magnanimity as our late enemies have done. The savage is full of prejudices because he is full of ignorance. His intellectual horizon is necessarily limited; he sees but little, and judges only by what he sees. His own little world is the world, and he tries all the rest of mankind by that standard. Cruel in war, he is revengeful and implacable in peace. Better things are ordinarily expected of civilized men. Education and civilization generally dispel these savage traits. They refine and soften men, and implant in their bosoms the noble virtues of generosity and magnanimity. The New England Puritan seems to have been, so far as we may judge him by the traits which have been developed in him during and since the war, an exception to this rule. With all his pretensions to learning and amid all the appliances of civilization by which he has surrounded himself he is still the same old Plymouth Rock man that his ancestor was three centuries ago. He is the same gloomy, saturnine fanatic; he has the same impatience of other men's opinions, and is the same vindictive tyrant that he was when he expelled Roger Williams from his dominion. The cockatrice's egg has hatched a savage, in short, that refuses to be civilized."

THE PIRATICAL SINNER STEELS HIS HEART AND BURNS HIS VICTIM'S "PRETTY LITTLE CRAFT."

In speaking of the capture of the whaling-schooner *Courser*, of Provincetown, Massachusetts, he again gives vent to his hatred of New England in spite of his admiration of the master of the vessel whom he says "was a gallant young fellow, and a fine specimen of a seaman, and if I could have separated him in any way from the 'universal Yankee nation,' I should have been pleased to spare his pretty little craft from the flames; but the thing was impossible. There were too many white-cravatted, long-haired fellows, bawling from New England pulpits, and too many house-burners and pilferers inundating our Southern land, to permit me to be

generous, and so I steeled my heart, as I had done on a former occasion, and executed the laws of war."—(Page 441.)

EVEN THE PLEA OF BEING BROTHER DEMOCRATS COULD NOT SAVE THE PIRATE'S VICTIMS.

On page 448 we have a bit of special pleading which we commend to the friends of Tilden and Hendricks. Again in the history of party politics these Southern fire-eaters are using for a speedy return to power the Democrats of the North. If they cannot ruin the country by rebellion they will attempt to rule it through their Democratic emissaries at the North. And in the end Democratic politicians will fall into the same trap into which Captain Gifford of the *Dunbar* fell when he pleaded Democratic principles to save his ship from destruction. Of their avail with a rebel the following extract is sufficient proof. Speaking of the masters of vessels which Semmes set fire to, he adds: "Some of them forgot, entirely, to mention how they had implored me to save their ships from destruction, professing to be the best of Democrats, and deprecating the war which their countrymen were making upon us! How they had come to sea, bringing their New England cousins with them, to get rid of the draft, and how abhorrent to them the sainted Abraham was. 'Why, Captain,' they would say, 'it is hard that I should have my ship burned; I have voted the Democratic ticket all my life; I was a Breckinridge man in the last Presidential contest; and as for the 'nigger,' if we except a few ancient spinsters, who pet the darkey on the same principle that they pet a lap-dog, having nothing else to pet, and a few of our deacons and 'church members,' who have never been out of New England—all of whom are honest people enough in their way—and some cunning rascals who expect rise into fame and fortune on the negro's back, we New England people care nothing about him.'"

THE PIRATICAL DESTROYER OF AMERICAN COMMERCE GOES FOR THE CHURCH AND PURITANISM IN THE NORTH.

After the capture of the bark *Parker Cooke*, of Boston, laden with provisions, and bound for Aux Cayes, on the south side of the island of St. Domingo, the pirate of the high seas, the ruthless destroyer of American commerce and private property thus moral-

izes over the wreck which his torch had completed :

"Sixty years before the negro had cut the throat of the white man, ravished his wife and daughters, and burned his dwelling in the island of St. Domingo, now in sight. The white man in another country was now inciting the negro to the perpetration of the same crimes against another white man whom he had called brother. The white man who was thus inciting the negro was the Puritan of New England, whose burning ship was lighting up the shores of St. Domingo! That Puritan, only a generation before, had entered into a solemn league and covenant to restore to the Southern man his fugitive slave, if he should escape into his territory. This was the way in which he was keeping his plighted faith! Does any one wonder that the *Alabama* burned New England ships?"

Throughout the volume of "Memoirs of Service Afloat" is this continual hatred of New England manifested. The sneers and jibes of the conceited Southerner are hurled at everything which bears the least semblance to Yankee origin. Nothing is too sacred to escape the gall and bitterness of his envenomed pen. Her clergy and teachers, her thrift, industries, and learning are all made the butt of this vain and egotistic chronicler of his own exploits. He fairly exhausts the vocabulary of satire and invective in his screed of rage. A few more extracts will suffice to show what manner of spirit animates this calumniator of every Northern man who had the misfortune to be subjected to his piracy and literally robbed of his cargo and private property on the high sea. Among the passengers of the *Union Jack*, which he consigned to the all-devouring flames, he descants particularly about a gentleman whom he styles an ex-New England parson :

"The Rev. Mr. ——— had been the editor of a religious paper for some years in one of the New England villages and probably owed his promotion" (that is to the consulship of Foo Chow, in China) "to the good services he had rendered in hurrying on the war. He had Puritan written all over his lugubrious countenance, and looked so solemn that one wondered how he came to exchange the clergyman's garb for the garb of Belial. But so it was ; ——— was actually going out to India in quest of the dollars."

When sailing through the Strait of Ma-

lacea he encountered the *Martaban*, which he boarded in person, and the portraiture which he draws of the master is of the same odious color with which he paints every New Englander :

"Puritan, May Flower, Plymouth Rock were all written upon the well-known features. No amount of English custom house paper or sealing-wax could by any possibility convert him into that rotund, florid, jocund Briton who personates the English ship-master. His speech was even more national — taking New England to be the Yankee nation — than his person ; and when he opened his mouth a mere novice might have sworn that he was from the 'State of Maine;' there or thereabouts. When he told me that I 'hadn't-ought-to' burn his ship he pronounced the shibboleth which condemned her to the flames."—(Page 717.)

THIS PIRATE VENTS HIS SATANIC SPIRIT ON THE PREACHERS AND SCHOOLMASTERS IN THE SOUTH.

The Union element of the South, which was either driven out or nursed in silence their hopes and wishes for the success of the loyal cause, does not escape the vials of wrath from this hot-tempered Southerner.

"This element," says he, "was composed mainly of Northern-born men who had settled among us before the war. In the height of the war, when the Southern States were still strong, and when independence was not only possible but probable, these men pretended to be good Southerners. The Puritan leaven, which was in their natures, was kept carefully concealed. Hypocrisy was now no longer necessary. Many of these new men were preachers of the various denominations and schoolmasters. These white-cravatted gentlemen now sprang into unusual activity. Every mail brought long and artfully written letters from some of these scoundrels tempting my men to desert. Some of these letters came under my notice, and if I could have gotten hold of the writers I should have been glad to give them the benefit of a short shrift and one of my yard-arms."—(Page 804.)

THE PIRATE'S LOVE FOR DAVIS AND HATRED OF OF LINCOLN.

Two more extracts complete our survey of Admiral Semmes' exhibit of Southern opinion during and since the war. If such views are held by the educated and enlightened men of the South, what must be the feelings and sentiments of the ignorant masses who look up to men of that ilk as their representatives and leaders? Is it at all a mat-

ter of astonishment that a reign of terror exists in the South, rendering the lives and property of Republicans precarious and insecure? This is the true cause of negro assassination and Ku-Kluxism. The Southern press cries out against the bloody-shirt business of the campaign, and the adherents of Tilden echo back their protest, but it can never be forgotten as long as rebel war literature continues to inflame the Southern heart and the cold-blooded murder of the colored man is a matter of daily occurrence. In juxtaposition we place the two final extracts from "Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War between the States." The one relates to the capture of Jefferson Davis and the close of his mad career as President of the Southern Confederacy—the greatest political bubble of modern times; the other to the untimely death of Abraham Lincoln, whom the nations of the earth revere as the second Washington of the American continent. Humanity everywhere mourned over the terrible death of the martyred President. Publicists and diplomats sent letters of condolence to a bereaved people. A great nation, with one voice, sent up to heaven its wail of sorrow when the news of the assassination of its Chief Magistrate reached the remotest corners of our land. It was reserved for Admiral Semmes, four years after the close of the war, to send from the seclusion of the author's study such words as ought to consign him for the rest of his mortal life to a contemptible oblivion. At all events, every rightly constituted mind will shudder at the thought of a party coming into power which must reward with high station and official position these men who execrate the memory of all who took part in the war for the preservation of the Union, and who hate, with a hatred which cannot be appeased, the soldier element of the North. Never in the history of our country has the Democratic party stood on such a fearful brink as now. Place Tilden in the White House and bloodshed and anarchy will be the normal condition of the Southern States. But we will no longer delay our readers from the pictures which Admiral Semmes' purblind vision has sketched for Southern hero worshippers. Semmes parted with Davis and his cabinet at Danville, and he adds:

"I did not see him afterwards. He moved soon to Charlotte, in North Carolina, and in a few weeks afterwards he fell into the hands of the enemy. The reader knows the rest of his history; how the enemy gloated

over his capture; how he was reviled and insulted by the coarse and brutal men into whose power he had fallen; how lies were invented as to the circumstances of his capture, to please and amuse the Northern multitude, eager for his blood; and finally, how he was degraded by imprisonment and the manacles of a felon! His captors and he were of different races—of different blood. They had nothing in common. He was the 'Cavalier,' endowed by nature with the instincts and refinement of the gentleman. They were of the race of the Roundheads, to whom all such instincts and refinements were offensive. God has created men in different moulds, as he has created the animals. It was as natural that the Yankee should hate Jefferson Davis as that the cat should arch its back and roughen its fur upon the approach of the dog. I have said that the American war had its origin in money, and that it was carried on throughout 'for a consideration.' It ended in the same way. The 'long-haired barbarian'—see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*—who laid his huge paw upon Jefferson Davis, to make him prisoner, was paid in money for the gallant deed. A President of the United States had degraded his high office by falsely charging Mr. Davis with being an accomplice in the murder of President Lincoln, and offered a reward for his apprehension, thus gratifying his malignant nature by holding him up to the world as a common felon. All men know this charge to be false, the libeler among the rest. Gentlemen retract false charges when they know them to be such. The charge made by Andrew Johnson against Jefferson Davis has not been retracted."—(Page 818.)

We turn now to the other picture, on page 821:

"My camp was astonished one morning by the report that Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was dead. He had gone to a small theater in the city of Washington, on the evening of Good Friday, and had been shot by a madman! It seemed like a just retribution that he should be cut off in the midst of the hosannas that were being shouted in his ears for all the destruction and ruin he had wrought upon twelve millions of people. Without any warrant for his conduct, he had made a war of rapine and lust against eleven sovereign States, whose only provocation had been that they had made an effort to preserve the liberties which had been handed down to them by their fathers. These States had not sought war, but peace, and they had found, at the hands of Abraham Lincoln, destruction. As a Christian it was my duty to say, 'Lord have mercy upon his soul!' but the *d—l* will surely take care of his memory."

THE TWO CIVILIZATIONS.

One came over Plymouth Rock. It was planted in the New World by representatives of the middle and lower classes of society. They came to establish, or rather to enjoy, freedom of religion and of private judgment, preferring a sterile soil, a severe climate, and the dangers from wild beasts and savages to the tyranny, intolerance, and persecution to which they had been subjected for so many years. Even before landing the Pilgrims entered into a written agreement that their government should be by the will of the majority. This was the origin of republicanism in America. Schools and churches were a part of their system. Courts were established for the settlement of disputes and the punishment of crimes. The resort to violence, to the use of deadly weapons, and to the *duello* to vindicate wrongs or wounded honor had no place in the government or institutions of the Puritans. They were a law-abiding people, and they appealed to the courts and the law and not to deadly weapons to settle differences. They organized Sunday-schools, where their children were taught to avoid violence; if smitten on one cheek to turn the other, and to return good for evil. They were men of pure and blameless lives, who were willing to die for their principles.

The other settled at Jamestown. Here came the aristocracy and the dissolute, both of men and women. Slavery, which was soon introduced, increased and spread south and west. With the dissolute men and women and slavery came the practice of a resort to the "Field of Honor" for the vindication of personal grievances. Here were *classes* and *caste* at the very organization of their institutions. Slavery created and supported a population of idlers. These were indifferent to schools, for idlers in business pursuits will be idlers in the pursuit of knowledge. Legislation of course partook of the character of the institutions. While education was neglected, slaves, as property, were protected. Slaves increased in numbers and value; slavery became more and more interwoven with the character of the people. Ignorance increased, and, with ignorance, idlers and violence and

prejudice, as the concomitants of ignorance and idleness.

Such was the origin of these two civilizations. Their early differences have gone on widening and diverging, so that at no period has the "barbarism" of the one or the Christianity of the other been more distinct than at the present moment. As a consequence, these two civilizations have produced two peoples in this country, whose habits, customs, mode of life, thoughts, and leading tenets, affecting alike individuals and government, are wholly and entirely different.

Slavery was a living lie; it was a system of violence and hypocrisy. The slaves were ever resisting restraints and control, not by violence and deadly weapons, of course; yet they were ever requiring control, and a great deal of degrading punishment was administered. On the part of the whites there was a constant overflow of lying and cheating and hypocrisy to govern and work the slaves. It was a system of robbery and fraud; it had its terrible effects alike upon white and black; it encouraged and licensed violence. In the few Sunday-schools organized the slaves were taught to obey their masters; this was the beginning and the ending of their lesson. The whites came to believe that slavery was a Divine institution; so were their children instructed; the pulpit concurred; and the pulpit concurred also by its silence, if not by positive affirmation, in the *duello*. It preached to please slaveholders, idlers, duellists, and the ignorant. Children at home and in the secular and Sunday-schools were educated in the precepts of slavery and the *code*. From infancy their children were trained to resent insult by violence and to resist restraint.

The very few books published by Southern authors were written to combat the Puritan tenets of freedom, equality, and justice, and in vindication of the peculiar institution. To the student it was very "peculiar." Among other peculiarities it raised up a people of politicians thoroughly aggressive, and even offensive in their aggressiveness. The States where this institution existed were

covered like locusts with lawyers, doctors, and leisured gentlemen wearing military or judicial titles earned in the militia or the courts. Profound learning, however, there was little or none. They were too idle to be eminent, except as politicians. Nor have they yet authors of note; and statistics show that no valuable patents have ever been invented to any extent by the devotees of slavery.

The contrast between these two civilizations is apparent at the Centennial. The display of mind and of fabrics and progress is almost wholly from the free States. The Centennial, in its inception, spirit, and management, and in its grand import, is the birth of freedom. The exhibition on the part of the South in its paucity is not because of the financial, but a result of the intellectual poverty of that section. They never had anything to exhibit but slaves, rice, cotton, tobacco, and politicians. They have now only the four last. As far as the Exposition represents the progress, wealth, enterprise, and loyalty of the free States it is hated by the South. If by their fiat the Centennial could have been prevented it would not have been held. Yet the South has the advantage of climate, soil, and mineral resources, which have been neglected through the improvidence of slavery and the influence of its civilization.

To the careful student of these two civilizations, and particularly to a resident of the South, the rebellion was not a surprise; nor to such a one is the present attitude of Southern Democrats at all a matter of wonder. They say they accept the situation, but when their particular tenets and sentiments are inquired into they have not changed one of these. Hence when they resolve that they accept the situation they declare a lie. Let us see. They still believe in slavery; they believe it was a Divine institution; they believe the North was wrong, unjust, and unconstitutional in all its action against slavery; they believe they had a right to secede, and that they were justified in secession and war; they believe in the "Lost Cause;" they believe in "State Rights;" they hate Republicans and Republicanism just as they hated abolition and abolitionists

before the war; they hate the North, the Union, and the flag; they never speak of the North in private or public, at the South, in terms of praise; they never eulogize the whole Union or its greatness; they take no pride in it; they always eulogize the South and her institutions and sentiments and people, but never freedom and her votaries; nor the flag, because it represents them.

Much is said in this Centennial year about shaking hands across the bloody chasm. Governor Rice, of Massachusetts, at the Centennial the other day expressed the propriety of abating sectional feeling. The Democratic press daily berates Republicans as responsible for the present sectional animosities. This is a question of fact, easily to be ascertained. Governor Rice was quite right in his desire; but the question is, after shaking hands, will the Southern Democrats abate a jot of their hostility? Their civilization is aggressive. They are fixed in their determination to regain first the old slave States and then the control of the National Government. By what means are they seeking to do this? This is a matter of fact, easy of determination, and not the purpose of this article.

But what is the meaning of this shaking hands over the obliteration of sectional feeling? Is this obliteration to be succeeded by the supremacy of either of these two civilizations? If so, which of the two? Is the blue to be abolished as a national color because it is offensive to rebels and traitors? Is the gray to be incorporated with the blue and thus elevate the sentiment represented by the gray to an equality with the blue? Is history to be blotted out in order to appease the authors of a rebellion to destroy the Union? Are we to cease to call these men rebels and traitors and accept them as honest, patriotic, and the vindicators of the Constitution? They say they were. Are the loyal people prepared to accept them on these terms?

Perhaps the writer can tell the loyal people something new. It is this: Besides the destruction of schools in the South by the rebel Democrats, they are weeding out school books from the North in general, and in particular those which contain any reference to the South and the war as in the

wrong; which speak of the war as a rebellion or the people as traitors; which condemn slavery or the war, or in the remotest degree criticise the Southern people or the war, or any battle of the war, unfavorably to the Confederates. In addition to the foregoing, the press, and orators, and parents of the South are persistent in teaching the rising generation that their fathers were engaged in a noble, righteous, and patriotic cause, which the North, by its money, its numbers, and its "hirelings," put down. They spare no pains to educate the whole people that they are unconstitutionally, illegally, wickedly, and maliciously oppressed, degraded, and humiliated.

Briefly, the one civilization recognizes the people as *masters of property*, while the *mind* is left free to accumulate, to digest, to break down the old restrictions and to advance by comparison, discussion, and experience.

The other accepts one class as *masters and owners* of another class of *persons*, on the theory of the inferiority of the latter. This system creates in the one class a love of power and dominion. This leads to the practice of tyranny, to acts of despotism and to sentiments fatal to freedom of speech, of thought, of the ballot, and of free institutions.

Such is the attitude at this moment of these two civilizations.

The Christianity of the one is seen in the conservative tendency of education and wealth; in the love of peace and good-will; in an unwillingness to believe or think evil of the other; in a tender regard for all parts of the Union; and in a broad catholic statesmanship which embraces the whole of our common country. The "barbarism" of the other is established by the treason of the rebellion and the cruelties of the war; by the murder of thousands of Republicans because of their opinions; by the intolerance, ostracism, and prejudice by which it is propagated; and by the brutality attending its acts of violence. It is seen immediately on passing south of "Mason and Dixon's line" in the aimless, listless, hopeless, idle characters who hang about towns, cross-roads, and depots, cursing "Yankees" and "niggers."

The assertion has been made by the champions of the civilization of slavery that

its men of violence constitute an exceptional class, as in the free States. The fact is, the brutalities practiced upon Republicans have been and are committed by the mass of whites; the lawyers, doctors, merchants, farmers, and mechanics, approved by the ministers. They have no exceptional class. The white population is always at leisure and always ready for raids, rides, whisky, and violence, especially when a Republican is to be persecuted or oppressed. There is no similarity whatever between the members of these two civilizations, in their sentiments, lives, modes of living, or customs. Dueling, slavery, and intolerance and ostracism toward Republicans are not only practiced and believed in by members of the churches, but they are preached from the pulpit. Away from the towns the ministers are the most bitter Democrats of the entire community.

Thus continues the "irrepressible conflict," more bitter and intolerant than when Mr. Seward uttered this living truth, and it will continue until one of these two civilizations spreads over the whole country. Which shall triumph? This is for the people to answer. One is a civilization of ideas; its progress is peaceful, intellectual, law-abiding, elevating, loyal, devoted to the supremacy of thought, mind, education, and law.

The other is intolerant, proscriptive, disloyal, violent, aggressive, demoralizing, dangerous, and destructive to freedom; and is the embodiment of anti-republican ideas and government.

To which can the National Administration be most safely intrusted? Is it prudent to place the army, navy, and finances in the hands of those who so recently sought to dismember the Union and entered upon that treason by first attempting to destroy these three arms of government?

By way of stating authoritatively the antagonisms of these civilizations, reference is made to the "procureur" of a work of over six hundred pages, published as late as 1852, entitled "Fletcher's Studies on Slavery." The author cites certain axioms as Northern heresies, to combat which the "Studies" were prepared. The book was written and published in the South, where many of the most highly educated in-

sist that the colored people are not human, but only brutes. The following are a few of the "errors" of the North which the "Studies" quote and seek to correct, viz: "All men are born equal;" "The rights of man are inalienable;" "No man can become property;" "No man can own property in another;" "Slavery is wholly founded on force;" "Slavery originates in the power of the strong over the weak;" "Slavery disqualifies a man to fulfill the great object of his being;" "To hold slaves is inconsistent with the present state of morals and religion;" "Slavery is contrary to the will of God," etc., etc. Of these the author then says: "Averments of this order are quite numerous. Fanatics receive them and some others do not distinguish them from truths. At any age, and in any country, when such errors are generally adopted and become the rules of political action, morals and religion are always in commotion and in danger of shipwreck."

In addition to the foregoing the author quotes from Dr. Wayland's Moral Science; from Channing, from Rev. Dr. Barnes on Slavery, and others opposed to the institution, and proceeds to discuss and refute them on the basis of the Southern civilization.

It needs only to be added that hundreds and thousands of Republicans in the South have sealed their devotion to the sentiments of the Northern civilization with their lives. Settlers from the North whose lives have been taken by the Southern propagandist on account of their sentiments were but the vanguard of a higher and better and truer civilization in that section. Others, it is to be hoped, for the cause and for the country, will follow and make the places of the slain more than good. Other thousands will fall before the same intolerance; but, under Providence, the work will go on to its consummation in the triumph of the civilization of the Mayflower.

COSTLY ECONOMY—THE PATENT OFFICE.

The last session of Congress boasted of eighty-three *ci-devant* rebels among its members; these gave the majority in the House to the Southern interest, for the Democrats from the North proved as subservient to their former taskmasters as before the war. The House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress was then, to all intents and purposes, as rebellious in its proclivities as if it were assembled in Richmond, and the year of our Lord was 1864 instead of 1876. In fact, to sit in the galleries and listen to the treasonable utterances of the Hon. Ben Hill, of Georgia; Rand. Tucker, of Virginia, *et id genus omne*, one could hardly realize that the scene was the National Legislature of the United States, and that the flag which floated above the building bore the stars and stripes and not the stars and bars.

Having signalized their advent by dismissing Union employes and attachés of the body, and appointing in their places good, found rebels; having formed their committees with an ex-rebel or rebel sympathizer

in each case as chairman; having, so to speak, stripped for the battle, the Democrats called upon the world to give them its undivided attention, to admire their superior honesty, prudence, and economy, and witness the celerity with which they were about to bring the Republican party to grief. They offered to prove how recreant to its trust that party had been, how nearly it had brought the country to bankruptcy, and how it was squandering the public funds by unnecessarily large appropriations for the Executive Departments of the Government. The Republican appropriations had been too large. The Democrats would show the world that the business of the Government could be carried on with smaller ones, and that the country would be benefited by retrenchment in that direction. Instead of one month (according to law) the Appropriation Committee took eight and a half to do what was required of it, and it was not until the money was due six weeks that the bill was passed which unlocked it to the people. And then, as a result of the boasted economy which the

world was to admire, each Department found itself sorely crippled. That the rebels in Congress were sincere in their desire for economy and reform is rendered doubtful by their course where it was a question of putting money into rebel pockets, as witness the thousands of personal claims which have been pushed through this session accruing to the advantage of Southerners who professed to have suffered loss through depredations of the Union forces during the war.

But in no public bureau was this false economy more absurd and more hurtful to the party which is parading itself before the people as the only hope left to the country than in the Patent Office.

This bureau belongs more especially to the people than any other Department of the Government. The interests which it has in charge are not confined to a section or a specialty, but permeate, as it were, the whole country. It fosters the genius of inventors and it protects the interests of manufacturers of all kinds of goods—from the needle to the sewing machine; from the cooking-stove to the Corliss engine; from the toy-perambulator to the locomotive; from the penknife to the saw-mill—all industries are cherished by it. Not only are patents issued to inventors, but capitalists purchasing such patents from patentees are insured in their rights and a complete list of patents so issued or transferred is published regularly. Therefore every machinist, manufacturer, and artisan throughout the land has a vital interest in the well-being of this office, as well as every capitalist. There are doubtless many Democrats who are inventors, as genius at least is not confined to party. There are many of the same political bias who hold large portions, or the whole, of valuable patents purchased from inventors or assignees. It cannot be supposed that these, when they find their business interests crippled or injured by the so-called economy of their Representatives in Congress, will indorse their action. It might not trouble them that the army should be reduced in number, or the pay of the men who fought against treason a few years ago be cut down; that the pension of some poor crippled soldier or the meager support of some dead soldier's widow be withheld for a time on account of want of clerical force to attend to the issuing of the

proper papers; or that the officers of the navy be "furloughed" for weeks or months; nor would the disarmament of the navy, because so many vessels have to be put out of commission, disturb them; nor the numerous public buildings in process of erection at a standstill and allowed to go to ruin, because of a want of funds sufficient either to continue the building of them or to properly protect them from the wear and tear of the elements, to say nothing of laborers turned off and out of work with starving families. All these things they might contemplate with equanimity, but when the far-reaching arm of rebel economy touches their own pockets! Ah, that is not to be borne with anything like patience!

The business of the office increases yearly and requires an enlarged appropriation each twelve months, instead of a reduction, and the absurdity of that reduction is further shown when we remember that with all the expense attending it this office is self supporting—returning an annual sum into the Treasury over and above its expenditures.

The appropriation in this bureau for the year 1875-'6 was \$731,400. The sum which the Commissioner decided was the smallest to enable him to do justice to the office for the year 1876-'7 was \$689,080, but in the eyes of the rebels this was entirely too large an amount, and they reduced it further to \$575,220, a deduction of \$113,860 from the estimate of the Commissioner.

Now let us see how much was returned to the Treasury in 1875:

Received from applications for	
Patents	\$672,514 00
For copies and recording.....	64,293 03
For Official Gazette.....	6,646 33
	<hr/>
	743,453 36
Expenditures.....	721,657 71
	<hr/>
Surplus paid into the United States Treasury	21,795 65

To credit Patent fund in United States Treasury January 1, 1876 886,909 62

Twenty-one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five dollars and sixty-five cents, then, was the return the Patent Office made last year up to January, 1875. In that month and February the receipts were respectively \$72,070.40 and \$74,651.62, showing a large increase in sixty days.

The number of applications for patents in 1840 was 735, in 1875, 21,638.

Cash received for patents in 1840 was \$38,056.51, in 1875, was \$643,453.36. The receipts for February alone, 1876, were in excess of the receipts for the whole year of 1840.

The success of this office depends upon the efficiency of the clerical force, and this force requires more special training than in any other bureau. The credit of the office, as well as the interests of inventors and capitalists, is endangered by inefficient work. The examiners must be men of learning, proficient each in their several specialties, as upon their dictum depends largely the welfare, we may say, of the country. When we think of the great responsibilities resting upon these men, and then glance at the sum paid them so grudgingly, we are astonished that they are willing to give services so valuable that are so little appreciated. To the twenty-six principal examiners, including those of trade marks and interferences, the large salary of \$2,500 each was paid; this the rebels cut down to \$2,250, and made a reduction of two in the number. The three examiners in chief receive each \$3,000, reduced by rebel economy to \$2,700. There was a reduction in compensation and force of clerks of class four—in compensation from \$1,800 a year to \$1,600, and from six to five in number; class three from seven to five; class two from twenty five to twenty; class one from forty to thirty-five. Of the fifty copyists, ten were deducted, and among the fifty laborers, ten were considered supernumerary. The contingent fund was cut down from \$90,000 to \$60,000, and having thus, as it were, tied his hands behind his back, Judge Duell finds himself left by the rebels to get out of the deep waters as best he may.

The reduction in force has taken place only a short time ago. Yet the work is already falling behind. The attorneys practicing before the office are clamoring for attention. Patent cases and suits before the courts are delayed or rendered abortive because the specifications or copies of patents, or files, necessary as proofs are not forthcoming at the proper time. Yet the copyists,

ladies paid salaries from \$600 to \$900 a year, are using every effort to meet the demand, and write till the pen often drops from their nerveless fingers.

This reduction in the face of the protest of the Commissioner was a direct insult to that gentleman. Either he did not understand his business, (the rebels might as well have said,) and required to be taught it, or he was dishonest, and asked for a larger sum than he knew was necessary in order to appropriate a portion to his private account. We are glad for the sake of the public cause and the employés of the office that his amiability enabled Judge Duell to overlook the insult, and remain at his post in spite of it. There has not been a more competent or courteous chief of the bureau for many a day. May he long continue to hold his present position—the right man in the right place.

The people at a distance from Washington have not yet appreciated the wrong done them in thus crippling the Patent Office; neither have the newspapers seemed to understand the loss to the industries of the country by the course of the rebel Congress in this particular; but it will not be many weeks before the harm will be felt, and then the Democrats will receive from the people they have so befuddled a convincing proof of their appreciation of their acts, by their refusing to indorse them and insisting upon a reconsideration of their economical plans and a more liberal policy, or the alternative of returning to the obscurity and impotence to which their treason in 1861 consigned them.

THE Republican party has reduced the debt since 1866 by \$678,000,000; it has reduced taxation by \$303,000,000; it has reduced expenditures by more than \$300,000,000; it has reduced the interest on the debt by \$49,000,000.

WE never knew a scolding person that was able to govern a family. What makes people scold? Because they cannot govern themselves. How can they govern others? Those who govern well are generally calm. They are prompt and resolute, but steady and mild.

THE AMERICAN CENTENNIAL PROBLEM.

The great question for the decision of the people of the United States in this Centennial election is, *whether those who so recently sought to destroy the Union shall be restored to the control of the Government.* Can they safely be intrusted with the Federal Administration? Is it prudent to place in their hands the keys of the Treasury, the command of the Army and Navy, and the power, patronage, and influence which the possession of these confers? To aid the people in their decision it is proposed to present facts divided into periods as follows: 1. Prior to the war; 2. Immediately succeeding the war; 3. Subsequent to reconstruction. These facts will show no change in Southern sentiment. So far from it, that the same sentiments entertained before and during the war remain unchanged. In truth, that the views heretofore prevalent are believed in now. These views embrace a belief in slavery; that the negro is not human and has no soul; that he is unfit to be a citizen and fit only to be a servant; that the war was right; that its suppression was illegal and criminal; that the flag is an emblem of oppression and tyranny; that free trade and direct taxation is the only true national policy; that the Union is a league of States, which are sovereign, and allegiance is due first to the State, whence the right of secession; that the amendments to the Constitution are nullities and an outrage; that the ballot-box and free institutions are annihilated; that waste, improvidence, defalcations, plundering, and indifference to schools characterize the legislation of the Southern States; that the sentiments, practices, and legislation of the South are utterly and diametrically opposed to the spirit of freedom, free institutions, and to the whole scope and purpose of the amendments to the Constitution; that all the leading theories of freedom, and all that is involved in those ideas are despised and hated by Southern Democrats now, as before the war. The proofs in support of these facts will be public documents and Southern newspapers, excluding altogether reliance upon the assertion of any Re-publican.

FIRST PERIOD.

The history, in general and detail, of slavery, with all its crimes, is too familiar to be repeated. The legislation with reference to slavery may be briefly stated, viz: that from the organization of the States slaves were allowed to be emancipated and masters could devise property to them by will. The intolerance and cruelty, if not the "barbarism," of slavery, by gradual steps, reached its legislative crisis in Mississippi, taking that State for illustration, in 1857, when it

unconditionally prohibited the power of emancipation and devise of property to slaves as follows, (*Revised Statutes of 1857, page 23, Art. 9:*)

"It shall not be lawful for any person either by will, deed, or other conveyance, directly or in trust, either express or secret, or otherwise, to make any disposition of any slave or slaves for the purpose or with the intent to emancipate such slave or slaves in this State, or to provide that such slaves be removed to be emancipated elsewhere, or by any evasion or indirection so to provide that the colonization, or any donee or grantee, can accomplish the act, intent, or purpose designed to be prohibited by this article. Nor shall it be lawful for any executor, trustee, donee, legatee, or other person under any pretense whatever to remove any slave or slaves from this State with the intent to emancipate such slave or slaves. But all such wills, deeds, conveyances, dispositions, trusts, or other arrangements, made, had, or intended to accomplish the emancipation of any slave or slaves after the death of the owner, no matter when made, shall be deemed and held entirely null and void, and the slave or slaves thereby attempted or intended to be emancipated shall descend to and be distributed among the heirs at law of the testator, grantor, or owner, or otherwise disposed of as though such testator, grantor, or owner had died intestate."

INCENDIARY BOOKS, ETC.

Equally bigoted and intolerant statutes were enacted as to "incendiary" publications, speeches, acts, &c., in most of the slave States, which need not be quoted, except the following from the laws of Mississippi, (*Revised Statutes, 1857, page 578:*)

Art. 33. "It shall not be lawful for any vendor of books, or other person, to introduce into this State for the purpose of sale or distribution, or to keep for that purpose any book, periodical, pamphlet, newspaper, or other publication calculated or designed to promote insurrection or disaffection amongst the slave population of the State, or advocating the abolition of slavery; and any person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of five hundred dollars, and may, at the discretion of the court, be imprisoned in the county jail for a period not exceeding six months; and the board of police of the county where such offense is committed, upon satisfactory proof by examination or otherwise that any such book, periodical, pamphlet, newspaper, or other publication has been introduced into such county, and is kept therein for the purpose of sale or distribution, shall

order the same to be seized and destroyed."

Ibid. p. 254, Art. 88: "If any free negro or mulatto shall bring into this State or circulate, or cause to be brought into this State or circulated therein, or in any manner aid or assist in so doing, any book, magazine, pamphlet, or other paper, written or printed, containing sentiments, doctrine, or advice, either directly or indirectly, or by innuendo, calculated to produce disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection amongst the slaves in this State, or in anywise to endanger the peace of society by exciting riots and rebellion amongst the slaves, the offender, on conviction thereof before the court having cognizance, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for any term not exceeding ten years."

UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLIES.

Ibid. p. 247, Art. 51: "All meetings or assemblies of slaves, or free negroes or mulattoes mixing and associating with such slaves, above the number of five, including such free negroes and mulattoes, at any place of public resort, or at any meeting-house or houses in the night, or at any school for teaching them reading or writing, either in the daytime or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly."

SLAVERY A DIVINE INSTITUTION.

As to the general opinions in the South touching slavery and the sentiments of freedom we quote only from a single volume, as we might do from many. This volume is "Studies of Slavery," containing about 700 pages, and published in 1852 being a labored and studied defense of the peculiar institution. From the preface of this publication we quote briefly. The publisher says:

"This is a legitimate topic of general interest, and it assumes a preponderating importance to the people of the Southern American States when the fact is taken into consideration that a general league against the institution of African slavery has been entered into and consummated between most of the civilized nations of the earth, and public opinion in many of the sister States of our own National Union has taken the same direction. The result is to have arraigned the slaveholding States before the mighty bar of public opinion on the charge of holding as property more than ten hundred millions of dollars' worth of what does not belong to them, which is not and never can be the property of man." * * * * "The time has come when the South must enter her plea of defense." * * * * "The author has not only marshaled into his line of impregnable defense the mandates and sanctions of the sacred writings concerning the slave institutions, but he has drawn

powerful auxiliaries from the sources of ancient history." * * * * "The author has also analyzed the fountain of moral philosophy, and detected the bitter waters of error so industriously infused by the eloquent and magical pens of such writers as Dr. Samuel Johnson, Dr. Paley, Dr. Channing, Dr. Wayland, Mr. Barnes, and others. He has confined himself to the moral and ethical bearings of the question, scarcely touching upon its political aspect—a course calculated to render the book far more useful to the dispassionate seekers after truth who may belong to different political sects."

From the introduction by the author we quote only sufficient to exhibit the sentiments of freedom which are contested by the Southern people, whose notions of slavery and freedom this author seeks to sustain. He cites a dozen or more terse sentiments which are accepted as axioms by the devotees of freedom, but which the author declares to be "errors" of "fanatics." Some of these axioms of freedom which he declares to be errors are these:

"Man cannot own property in man;" "all men are created equal;" "slavery is contrary to religion;" "the rights of man are inalienable;" "slavery is founded on force;" "slavery originates in the power of the strong over the weak;" "slavery disqualifies a man to fulfill the great object of his being;" "slavery is inconsistent with the moral nature of man;" "to hold in slavery is inconsistent with the present state of morals and religion."

The author then says of these and others like them:

"Averments of this order are quite numerous. Fanatics receive them, and some others do not distinguish them from truth. At any age and in any country where such errors are generally adopted and become the rules of political action morals and religion are always in commotion and in danger of shipwreck; for although where man has only approached so far towards civilization that even the enlightened can merely perceive them as rudimental, yet the great principles that influence human life, morality, and religion are everywhere and always have been the same."

NEGROES NOT HUMAN.

It may be stated as a fact that some of the most learned scholars of the South hold the African to be brutes, barbarians, and without souls, and hence that the Constitutional amendments are inoperative. We might refer to distinguished jurists, ex-judges of the highest courts, and teachers, by name, and perhaps may do so in future chapters.

LEGISLATION.

1. The lands donated by Congress to the several States were equal or nearly so. Take Mississippi as a representative Southern State, and Iowa as illustrating the Western States. Iowa is dotted all over with high schools, academies, normal schools, and district schools. Her lands and funds may be estimated at from \$2,000,000 to \$5,000,000. In the South these lands are all squandered and in the hands of favorite Democrats. The money received on sales was loaned to individuals and railroads, and the notes taken are worthless. The books and records of Mississippi exhibit millions of these worthless notes, now representing these lands and funds.

As to a school system in any of the old slave States, there never was any. A few sickly colleges, generally hot-beds of secession sentiments, maintain a feeble existence. The "district school house," as known in the free States never obtained in the South, and is not to be found; a few log-houses, with stick and mud chimneys, excepted.

2. Large quantities of lands were also donated by Congress for internal improvements. These were also promptly squandered and held by Democrats. See the records. Estimated number of acres donated to Mississippi, (and the same to other States,) *one million acres*; estimated present value, \$1,000,000.

All gone, glimmering, Democrats know where, and to whom.

DEFALCATIONS OF STATE OFFICIALS.

Take Mississippi, for example. In three several years three several State Treasurers defaulted in amounts aggregating \$281,607.41. Official documents show that fines and *forfeitures* collected all over the State failed to be returned to the treasury. So said a Democratic Governor in his message. The State printer drew several thousand dollars for work never performed. The press of that day charged the State Treasurer with employing funds in the treasury to buy State warrants for forty cents on the dollar and turning in the warrants at par, thus saving to himself sixty cents on the dollar. State warrants ranged in those days at forty to sixty cents on the dollar.

In one year the number of county tax collectors in default was twenty-six, or nearly one-half the counties in the State, in the aggregate sum of \$25,580.27.

In another year there were thirty-three (over half in the State) county tax collectors in default, in the aggregate sum of \$90,617.46.

Another State Treasurer had made no entries in his books for twelve months. He never did and never could settle with the State.

The Adjutant General's books were also reputed to be in such confusion as to furnish no data for a report.

Still another State Treasurer's books were in such confusion, he having died, that no settlement could be had with the State.

The State treasury was so low at one time the members of the Legislature could not be paid, and by resolution that body adjourned, resolving that "*the most laudable course was to return to their homes and await the ability of the State to meet their claims.*"

The records show that discrepancies existed in the Auditor's and Treasurer's accounts aggregating nearly \$200,000.

The records also say that "there is large discrepancies in *other trust funds.*"

The State loaned to one of the railroads a large sum, of which \$45,000 were paid for purchase of negroes. What became of the negroes, and what Democratic pets received them, the records fails utterly to show.

Governor McNutt, in a message, said: "Not more than one-half of the taxable property of the State is ever assessed, and large portions of the taxes collected are never paid into the State treasury." That was before the days of "carpet-baggers."

Complaint is made that Republicans conferred upon Governor Ames power to appoint tax-collectors. Governor McNutt recommended and urged that this power be conferred upon him as a *demer resort* for the safety of the funds of the State.

Complaint is also made of a Republican Legislature because it required judicial printing and advertising to be given to Republican newspapers. Governor McNutt paid the Democratic newspapers of his day \$23,000 out of the contingent fund allowed him. Late Republican Governors have not had half that sum allowed for all contingent purposes.

The tax on six hundred lots of land in Tunica county aggregated less than \$50. The cost of selling these lots, paid by Democratic officials, was over \$4,000.

In 1837 a Democrat was sent to Washington to receive from Government about \$100,000 of agricultural land scrip. He was paid \$15,709.85 for that service. In 1870 Governor Alcorn went to Washington and received for nearly twice that sum, for which he charged and was paid only his actual expenses.

The *reputation* of the millions borrowed in Europe is now public history. The legislation preparatory to that loan and the *reputation* is spread out in the records. It created two monster banks, with branches all over the State. Bonds were issued in due form and were guaranteed by the State. On these the money was borrowed. Suit was brought in the State courts and final

judgment was rendered in the court of last resort, on a test case, in favor of the bondholders. The act of repudiation was by the people and the Executive. The completion of the schemes of legislation creating the banks mentioned involved liabilities by the State of nearly fifty millions! The release was by repudiation and rebellion.

It is estimated that the actual cost of Democratic rule in Mississippi has been over \$40,000,000. Since reconstruction there have been more Democratic than Republican defaulters in Mississippi, as the records prove. This occurs from the fact that in Democratic counties there have been, of course, Democratic officials, who, in greater number than Republicans, have been defaulters.

DEFAULTS OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS IN MISSISSIPPI.

We submit a list (not complete) of Democratic office-holders in Mississippi who proved defaulters to the United States Government. We have not included a defaulter for less than \$1,000. Those who defaulted for less than that amount are simply "too numerous to mention." The list is, so far as we can get hold of the official reports, brought up to 1861 from 1830. Democratic officials ceased defaulting when the Democratic party got out of power. They say they have stolen nothing lately. The thief in jail might say the same thing, and for the same reason, to-wit: want of opportunity.

The Republican administration exposes and punishes thieves. The Democrats never punished one of all this long list of defaulters. And the thousand little defaulters went not free, too. This is the way they did it in the palmy days of the pure Democracy: The biggest defaulter in the list, Wiley P. Harris, of Columbus, was indorsed by his Democratic Representative in Congress as "one of the main pillars of Democracy," as of "diffused and deserved popularity," and as "one of the earliest and most distinguished friends of the administration in Mississippi." After fifteen warnings, extending through two years, Mr. Harris was permitted to resign, and to nominate and secure the appointment of his successor, and the Secretary quietly entered on the books of the United States Treasury: "Balance due from Mr. Harris, \$109,178.00."

In about a year this successor to Harris was found to be a defaulter for \$50,000. Mr. Garesche, the Treasury official sent down to report upon his default, says:

"The man seems really penitent, and I am inclined to think, in common with his friends, that he is honest and has been led away by the example of his predecessor and a certain looseness in the code of morality which does not move in so limited a circle as it does at home."

And Mr. Garesche goes on to say:

"Another receiver would probably follow in the footsteps of the two. You will not be surprised, therefore, if I recommend that he be retained."

And he was retained; and in October following he was allowed to resign, and the Secretary entered against his name, "Indebted \$50,000, as per last statement."

Defaulting Receivers of Public Moneys in Mississippi.

Trustell Quarles, Jackson.....	\$1,060 00
Wm. D. McKay, Lexington.....	9,987 23
A. W. McDaniel, Washington.....	6,090 00
Samuel Smith, St. Stephens.....	33,590 92
G. Conway, " ".....	5,613 00
J. H. Owens, " ".....	30,611 97
S. W. Dickson, Choctaw.....	11,231 90
G. B. Crutcher, " ".....	6,061 47
G. B. Dameron, " ".....	38,714 81
W. P. Harris, Columbus.....	109,178 08
G. D. Boyd, " ".....	50,937 20
A. H. Sterling, Choctuma.....	10,738 70

Defaulting Depositories of Public Moneys.

Agricultural Bank of Mississippi.....	583,404 30
Tombigbee Bank.....	98,178 90

United States Marshal.

A. G. Wier, North Mississippi.....	1,949 03
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Judicial Officers.

R. M. Gaines, U. S. Attorney.....	4,000 00
G. W. Gayle.....	2,006 71
A. Miller.....	22,937 55

Postmasters.

Wm. Deloy, Oxford.....	2,955 55
C. P. McDaniel, Clinton.....	3,115 15
C. R. Dickson, Jackson.....	3,134 94
Wm. D. Ray, Collector Vicksburg..	4,880 54

Ah! those were happy days. There was then no Republican President to issue the mandate, "Let no guilty man escape." There was then no Republican administration to pursue into jail and bankruptcy every defaulter, as it is at this very moment doing in the United States courts in Mississippi. We repeat that the foregoing are from a single State, taken by way of illustration, and not a tithe even as to that State, much less as to other States.

SECOND PERIOD.

This period begins with the attempt of President Johnson to reconstruct the Southern States. Judge Sharkey, ex-Chief Justice, was appointed Governor of Mississippi. A constitutional convention was convened. Its action with reference to emancipation was of the most cautious and reserved character. The convention only recognized the fact of emancipation. It did not adopt it or declare it. The record is this: Whereas slavery having been abolished it shall not exist, &c.

With a few changes the old constitution

was adopted in August, 1865. Under this constitution a Legislature convened in November of that year.

LEGISLATION.

A county court was created with jurisdiction of all minor offenses, including "unlawful assemblages," which under prior statutes had reference to slaves, free negroes, and white men assembling with them.

This court was authorized to inflict corporal punishment by "suspending the party by the thumb," &c.

In case of the conviction of a freedman for any of the offenses enumerated and he failed to pay the fine or penalty for five days, "*the sheriff shall hire such freedman to any person who will pay such fine and costs for the shortest term of service of such freedman.*"

Suppose the shortest term bid was for life! There is nothing in the statute to prevent its consummation.—(Laws of Mississippi, approved November 24, 1865.) The affidavit to compel a plaintiff in an action to give security for costs could only be made by a white person.—(*Ib.*, ch. 3, p. 81.)

Freedmen were prohibited to acquire or lease real estate except they might rent or lease in towns under the direction of the authorities.

Freedmen could be witnesses only where a freedman was a party to a suit, and in criminal cases where the offense was upon the freedman or his goods.

They were required to find homes annually by the second Monday of January, and have a certificate of the fact.

Contracts with freedmen were required to be in writing, attested by a civil officer.

A freedman quitting his employer was liable to be arrested and returned by any person or officer.—[Laws of Miss., 1865, ch. 4, entitled "An act to confer civil rights on freedmen, and for other purposes."] (The other purposes seem to prevail in the infamous act.)

It was made the duty of all civil officers to report to the probate court all colored children under eighteen years of age with a view to finding them homes, and thousands were thus indentured by utterly illegal and void proceedings. Hundreds of these have been released on *habeas corpus*. Some are still in this bondage. In all cases where there was no record evidence of the age of a colored person the probate court was empowered to fix it. Probably there was not record proof of the age of a single colored person in the State. O, shame, where is thy blush!—(Laws of Miss., 1865, ch. 5.)

Chapter VI of the laws of 1865 being an act with regard to vagrants was so manifestly aimed at the colored people that it may be somewhat fully quoted:

SEC. 1. "That all rogues and vagabonds,

idle and dissipated persons, beggars, jugglers, or persons practicing unlawful games or plays, runaways, common drunkards, night-walkers, pillagers, lewd, wanton, or lascivious persons in speech or behavior, common railers and brawlers, persons who neglect their calling or employment, mispend what they earn, or do not provide for the support of themselves or their families or dependents, and all other idle and disorderly persons, including all who neglect all lawful business, or habitually mispend their time by frequenting houses of ill-fame, gaming-houses, or tipping-shops, shall be deemed and considered vagrants under the provisions of this act, and on conviction thereof shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, with all accruing costs, and be imprisoned at the discretion of the court not exceeding ten days."

SEC. 2. "All freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling with freedmen, free negroes, or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes, or mulattoes on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freedwoman, free negro, or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and, on conviction thereof, shall be fined in the sum of not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro, or mulatto, fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days and the white man not exceeding six months."

SEC. 5. "All fines and forfeitures collected under the provisions of this act shall be paid into the county treasury for general county purposes, and in case any freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall fail, for five days after the imposition of any fine or forfeiture upon him or her for violation of any of the provisions of this act, to pay the same, that it shall be, and is hereby, made the duty of the sheriff of the proper county to hire out said freedman, free negro, or mulatto, to any person who will, for the shortest period of service, pay said fine or forfeiture and all costs; provided a preference shall be given to the employer, if there be one, in which case the employer shall be entitled to deduct and retain the amount so paid from the wages of such freedman, free negro, or mulatto, then due or to become due; and in case such freedman, free negro, or mulatto cannot be hired out he or she may be dealt with as a pauper."

SEC. 6. "That the same duties and liabilities existing among white persons of this

State shall attach to freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, to support their indigent families, and all colored paupers; and that in order to secure a support for such indigent freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, it shall be lawful, and it is hereby made the duty of the boards of county police of each county in this State, to levy a poll or capitation tax on each and every freedman, free negro, or mulatto, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, not to exceed the sum of one dollar annually to each person so taxed; which tax, when collected, shall be paid into the county treasurer's hands, and constitute a fund, to be called the Freedman's Pauper Fund, which shall be applied by the commissioners of the poor for the maintenance of the poor of the freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes of this State, under such regulations as may be established by the boards of county police in the respective counties of this State."

SEC. 7. "If any freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall fail or refuse to pay any tax levied according to the provisions of the sixth section of this act it shall be *prima facie* evidence of vagrancy, and it shall be the duty of the sheriff to arrest such freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or such person refusing or neglecting to pay such tax, and proceed at once to hire, for the shortest time, such delinquent tax-payer to any one who will pay the said tax, with accruing costs, giving preference to the employer if there be one."

Chapter VIII, same year, is an act to reorganize the militia, which is done on a grand scale, confining the force to the whites.

The reorganization of the militia under the Republicans included both colors, and that's where the shoe pinched. The exemption laws of the State were for whites only.

Chapter XIV of the laws of 1865 was an act to provide for the support of wounded and disabled soldiers, and for the support education of indigent children of deceased and soldiers and the relief of indigent families of the State. For this purpose twenty per centum of the revenue of the State was reserved annually, to constitute a permanent fund for that purpose.

Chapter XXI, as to laying out and working roads, simply amends prior statutes by substituting freedmen for slaves and employer for master.

AMMUNITION FOR THE MILITIA.

Chapter XXI (laws of 1865) appropriates \$5,000 for the purchase of ammunition for the militia. What for?

FREEDMEN IN DANGER.

Chapter XXIII being somewhat extraordinary ought to be liberally quoted:

SEC. 1. "That no freedman, free negro, or mulatto, not in the military service of the United States Government, and not licensed

so to do by the board of police of his or her county, shall keep or carry fire-arms of any kind, or any ammunition, dirk, or bowie-knife; and on conviction thereof, in the county court, shall be punished by fine not exceeding ten dollars, and pay the costs of such proceedings, and all such arms or ammunition shall be forfeited to the informer; and it shall be the duty of every civil and military officer to arrest any freedman, free negro, or mulatto found with any such arms or ammunition, and cause him or her to be committed for trial in default of bail."

SEC. 2. "Any freedman, free negro, or mulatto committing riots, routs, affrays, trespasses, malicious mischief, cruel treatment to animals, seditious speeches, insulting gestures, language, or acts or assaults on any person, disturbance of the peace, exercising the functions of a minister of the Gospel without a license from some regularly organized church, vending spirituous or intoxicating liquors, or committing any other misdemeanor, the punishment of which is not specifically provided for by law, shall, upon conviction thereof in the county court, be fined not less than ten dollars and not more than one hundred dollars, and may be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty days."

SEC. 3. "If any white person shall sell, lend, or give to any freedman, free negro, or mulatto any fire-arms, dirk, or bowie-knife, or ammunition, or any spirituous or intoxicating liquors, such person or persons so offending, upon conviction thereof in the county court of his or her county, shall be fined not exceeding fifty dollars, and may be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty days."

SEC. 4. "That all the penal and criminal laws now in force in this State defining offenses and prescribing the mode of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, be, and the same are hereby, re-enacted and declared to be in full force and effect against freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, except so far as the mode and manner of trial and punishment have been changed or altered by law."

SEC. 5. "That if any freedman, free negro, or mulatto convicted of any of the misdemeanors provided against by this act shall fail or refuse for the space of five days after conviction to pay the fine and costs imposed, such person shall be hired out by the sheriff or other officer at public outcry to any white person who will pay said fine and all costs, and take such convict for the shortest time."

A BLOW AT FREE LABOR.

Chapter XLIV levied a tax of \$2 per bale on cotton and exempted from taxes disabled Confederate soldiers.

MORE DANGER TO FREEDMEN.

Section one of Chapter XLVIII should be copied at length:

SEC. 1. "In every case where any white person has been arrested and brought to trial, by virtue of the provisions of the tenth section of the above-recited act, in any court in this State, upon sufficient proof being made to the court or jury upon the trial before said court that any freedman, free negro, or mulatto has falsely and maliciously caused the arrest and trial of said white person or persons, the court shall render up a judgment against said freedman, free negro, or mulatto for all costs of the case, and impose a fine not to exceed fifty dollars and imprisonment in the county jail not to exceed twenty days; and for a failure of said freedman, free negro, or mulatto to pay or cause to be paid all costs, fines, and jail fees, the sheriff of the county is hereby authorized and required, after giving ten days' public notice, to proceed to hire out at public outcry, at the court-house of the county, said freedman, free negro, or mulatto, for the shortest time, to raise the amount necessary to discharge said freedman, free negro, or mulatto from all costs, fines, and jail fees aforesaid."

By Chapter XLIV freedmen were prohibited to hunt hogs or other stock on lands other than their own, and for violation were liable to be sold to pay fines and costs.

COURTS VIRTUALLY CLOSED TO FREEDMEN.

Chapter LVIII declared that no justice of the peace should issue a warrant or summons unless upon security for costs, thus effectually closing the courts to the colored people.

Chapter LXV released all Confederate soldiers from prosecution for misdemeanors committed prior to the war.

REVENUE AND TAXATION.

Chapter LXXIII is an act to raise revenue. It levies only ten cents on one hundred dollars in value of real estate. At this tax, land valued at \$1,000 would pay only \$1. Tens of thousands of acres were assessed at only fifty cents, and even twenty-five cents per acre, so that on 20,000 acres he might pay a tax of only \$5. Most lands were assessed at \$3 to \$5 per acre, none over \$10. At \$10 per acre a man would pay a tax of only \$10 (ten dollars) on a valuation of 1,000 acres.

But every description of labor and personal property were heavily taxed—hacks, drays, etc., etc.—so that a poor barber would pay a tax of \$25, while a planter owning a farm of 1,000 acres, assessed at \$10 per acre, would pay a tax of only \$10, and so on through the catalogue.

CASTE.

By Chapter LXXIX freedmen were forbidden to ride on first-class cars.

JOHNSON APPROVED.

By joint resolution approved December 6, 1865, the Legislature of Mississippi indorsed President Johnson, expressing the belief and hope that his name would be crowned with "unfading honor."

By joint resolution approved November 8, 1865, the President was requested to withdraw the United States troops from Mississippi. What for?

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT.

In the Laws of 1865, page 270 to page 274, will be found an able and studied report of a committee upon the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

On page 274 will be found this record:

"Resolved, therefore, by the Legislature of Mississippi, That it refuses to ratify the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

This was concurred in by both houses and approved by the Governor December 4, 1865.

JEFF DAVIS AND JACOB THOMPSON.

In the Laws of 1865, from page 274 to page 284, will be found memorials by the Legislature to Congress and to the President, asking the repeal of the oath of office, and praying the pardon of Jacob Thompson and Jefferson Davis. For the sublime of eulogy these memorials extol Davis and Thompson beyond anything of the kind on record. They are made very gods.

LAWS OF 1866-7.

October 30, 1866, Laws of 1866-7, the Governor of Mississippi was authorized to appoint two commissioners to proceed to Washington to intercede for Jeff Davis.

Chapter CLXII, Laws of 1866-7, provides artificial limbs for Confederate soldiers.

Chapter CLXV, Laws of 1866-7, should be given in full:

SECTION 1. "That no suit or motion, civil or criminal, shall be commenced or prosecuted in any court in this State against any civil or military officer or person who held office in this State during the recent war, for any act of omission or commission done or omitted, in obedience to any act of the Legislature passed after the 9th day of January, 1861, whether said act has been or may hereafter be declared unconstitutional or not."

SEC. 2. "That a general amnesty or pardon is hereby extended to any and all military officers or privates who are charged or may hereafter be charged with any offense committed in the execution of any military order of any military officer in the then Confederate States."

Chapter CCCXXIII, Laws of 1866-7, authorized the Governor to appoint two leading members of the bar of Mississippi to assist in the defense of Jeff Davis, and \$20,000 were appropriated to defray their expenses. None of this sum was ever returned to the

treasury, and not one word was ever heard from these "leading members of the bar of Mississippi" in the trial. They no doubt had a good time, and the money was expended.

Chapter CCCCX, Laws of 1866-7, directs the payment of a continuous salary to Governor Clark for his full term, he having been, as the act recites, "forcibly ejected from his office" by the United States, and afterward arrested and held by the Federal Government. This was a criminal outrage on the part of the Government, in the opinion of the Mississippi Legislature.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

On page 734, Laws of 1866-7, is this record:

"Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That the State of Mississippi refuse to ratify the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed by Congress as Article 14. Adopted unanimously by the House of Representatives January 25, 1867.

"Unanimously concurred in by the Senate January 30, 1867.

"Approved January 31, 1867."

In the foregoing will be found the whole animus of slavery and the rebellion. The next period will embrace selections from the Southern Democratic press from 1865 to 1876, showing that the present situation has been contemplated and brought on by deliberate design.

THIRD PERIOD.

The intelligent reader of these scraps of history will not fail to see that the present condition of affairs is precisely that which Democrats have from the first sought to produce. They opposed reconstruction and denounced the measure and its friends with the same malice, the same threats, the same language of defamation, and the same declaration of disorder and violence that they employ now. They denounced all Government officials, even the officers of the army, in the same terms they now denounce Republicans. They employed the term "carpet-bagger," and denounced Northern Republican settlers as such, and as "thieves," "scoundrels," and "jail-birds," before there was any Republican party in the South. They threatened turbulence and violence in opposition to reconstruction, and threatened the state of things now existing if that measure was carried out. They are carrying out now, in opposition to Republicans and to regain power, the very threats made years ago.

BURNING NORTHERN CITIES.

This period may be appropriately introduced by two items, having peculiar significance in connection with the events of the war.

One is from a report of the select committee upon the various means of upholding Government and extending relief to the people during the existence of the blockade, made during the rebellion to the Legislature of Mississippi by a committee of that body.

After discussing finances as a policy, criticising Northern finances and extolling Southern means of credit in the usual bombastic style of Southern Democrats, we find this:

"Congress, by strict embargo laws, can prevent any cotton from going North until their manufacturing establishments would be closed. If then the Northern Government refused to make an honorable peace, the war could be safely carried into Africa. *The invaders and coast robbers could be pursued to their dens, and, if nothing else would insure peace and safety to the Southern people, their heartless enemies could be slain by the light of their own burning dwellings.*"

The above report was signed by "J. B. Gladney, chairman." Mr. G. is a prominent and leading White Line Democrat of Mississippi, and is understood to be a candidate for a high office.

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.

The other item was the public recitation of the following lines and the waving and folding of a Confederate flag. This occurred in December, 1865, in a public hall in a leading city of the South, and was witnessed by the writer. The hall was packed by Southern people, and the intensity of affection manifested for the flag as it was slowly furled and laid away by the young lady on the stage, who was the actress on that occasion, language cannot express:

THE CONQUERED BANNER.

BY "MOINA."

[The Rev. A. J. Ryan, Catholic Priest of Knoxville, Diocese of Nashville, Tennessee.]

Furl that Banner, for 'tis weary;
Round its staff 'tis drooping dreary;
Furl it, fold it, it is best;

For there's not a man to wave it,
And there's not a sword to save it,
And there's not one left to lave it
In the blood which heroes gave it;
And its foes now scorn and brave it;
Furl it, hide it—let it rest.

Take that Banner down, 'tis tattered!
Broken is its staff and shattered!
And the valiant hosts are scattered,
Over whom it floated high.
Oh! 'tis hard for us to fold it!
Hard to think there's none to hold it;
Hard that those who once unrolled it,
Now must furl it with a sigh.

Furl that Banner—furl it sadly—
Once ten thousands hailed it gladly,
And ten thousands wildly, madly,
Swore it should forever wave—
Swore that freemen's swords would never
Hearts like theirs entwined discover,
Till that flag shall float forever
O'er their freedom or their grave!

Furl it! for the hands that grasped it,
And the hearts that fondly clasped it,
Cold and dead are lying low;
And that Banner—it is trilling!
While around it sounds the wailing
Of its people in their woe.

For, though conquered, they adore it!
Love the cold, dead hands that bore it!
Weep for those who fell before it!
Pardon those who trailed and tore it!
But, oh! wildly they deplore it
Now who furl and fold it so.

Furl that Banner! true 'tis gory,
Yet 'tis wreathed around with glory,
And 'twill live in song and story.
Though its folds are in the dust:
For its fame on brightest pages,
Penned by poets and by sages,
Shall go sounding down the ages—
Furl its fold though now we must.

Furl that Banner, softly, slowly,
Treat it gently—it is holy—
For it droops above the dead,
Touch it not—in fold it never,
Let it droop there, furled forever,
For its people's hopes are dead!

The "Stars and Bars" are only "furled"
and at "rest." They will be unfurled and
thrown to the breeze when opportunity
offers. Such is the Southern idea. These
lines were not then very generally in print,
and were furnished to the writer in manu-
script by a Southerner, as were also the fol-
lowing:

"Oh, the South, the sunny, sunny South!
Land of true feeling—land forever mine;
I drink the kisses of her rosy mouth
And my heart swells with a draught of wine.
Oh! by her lovely pines that wave and sigh,
Oh! by her myriad flowers that bloom and
fade,

By all the thousand beauties of her sky,
And the sweet solace of her forest shade,
She's mine—she's ever mine!
Mortal or divine—
Will I e'er resign—
Will never die—do ought but fly."

INFAMOUS INDECENCY.

In the summer of 1873 the *Hinds County (Miss.) Gazette*, now notorious for its inflam-
matory suggestions to White Liners, devoted
one-half a column to a proposition to ship to
Massachusetts 50,000 selected "buck niggers"
for intermarriage with the women of
that State. The article was exceedingly
gross, yet the editor of the *Gazette* is re-
puted a member of the church in high stand-
ing, and it is also asserted that he was at one
time editor of an abolition paper in Ohio.

What he is now may be inferred from his
advice to send "regulators" to oversee Re-
publican meetings, and from his plan to im-
prove the people of Massachusetts. Owing
to the offensive nature of that article, we
give only brief extracts to show its charac-
ter: "Both sections of the Union would be
greatly benefited by the arrangement. The
South would get rid of a non-producing
population, while the females of Massachu-
setts would be furnished with a legal hus-
band apiece, and, besides, Massachusetts
furnished, in the future, with a race of men

vastly superior, in many respects, to the
present average Massachusetts man." "And
there would be an eternal fitness in this ar-
rangement. Massachusetts has mourned more
seriously over the hard fate of the poor ne-
gro than any other State, and her people
have labored longer and harder to bring him
up to an equality with the whites than any
other people. Our first-class colored bucks
are entirely worthy of the hands and hearts
of the young girls of Massachusetts."

The suggestion of Mr. Harper was quoted
approvingly by many Democratic papers,
particularly by the *Winona Advance*, the
organ of Hon. Mr. Money, member of Con-
gress from Mississippi, and lately the editor.
Whether he was editor in 1873, or whether
he approves or disapproves of the article of
the pious old Harper, we are ignorant.

Other papers cast slurs upon the virtue of
female teachers from the North, and one in
particular warned the people that they were
all "spies."

ATTEMPTS TO DEFEAT RECONSTRUCTION.

The following are some of the modes by
which Southern Democrats, taking Missis-
sippi for illustration, have attempted to es-
cape the Congressional plan of reconstruc-
tion:

1. By the legislation of 1865-6, whereby
the freedmen could have been sold into
worse than slavery to pay costs, fines, pen-
alties, taxes, &c., even fifty cents sufficing
to sell for life.

2. Through the defection and treachery of
President Johnson.

3. By bill and injunction in the United
States courts, filed by Ch. J. Sharkey to en-
join the enforcement of the laws of Congress
as unconstitutional.

4. By the organization of a "Constitu-
tional Union party" opposed to the Congres-
sional plan.

5. Through a change in Northern senti-
ment and the success of the Democracy.

6. By the election of Dent to be Governor
in 1869, in which election Democrats of Mis-
sissippi resolved themselves into the "Re-
publican National Union party," and so
called themselves. After the election they
resumed the name of Democrats without
formal action—as of course.

7. Through the election of Greeley in
1872.

8. The White Line and Winchester rifle
policy now in vogue.

In 1868 Democrats resolved that the con-
stitutional amendments were revolutionary,
null, and void.

In 1869 they swore they were Republi-
cans.

In 1872 they were in love with Horace
Greeley.

In 1874 they inaugurated murder and

fraud, and consummated this policy in Mississippi in 1875 through the blood of hundreds of Republicans who were brutally slaughtered.

And in 1876 this policy is continued. This policy was threatened by the Democratic press of Mississippi from 1867 until, the Southern heart being sufficiently fired, it was finally inaugurated, not for just cause, but to regain power. Threats, abuse, denunciation, and violence have been indulged in from the first, without regard to cause, or truth, or justice. The Democratic party of Mississippi is the deliberate assassin of law and order and personal freedom in that State.

THE LOST CAUSE.

No subject forms the theme of such constant eulogy as the "Lost Cause." This is true of every man and woman of the South, from Jeff Davis down to the corner-grocery orator. It was the outspoken theme of ex-General and ex-Governor Humphreys, of Mississippi, the idol of the people of that State, at a reunion of Confederates in Meridian. Yet the most labored and finished eulogy was by Judge J. A. P. Campbell, the ablest of Mississippi's judges and lawyers. Quite as bold as any was the oration of Dr. A. Y. P. Garnett, delivered in 1874 in Washington, D. C., but not published until September, 1876! and now given to the public in a Democratic paper, apparently as a Democratic campaign document. The Doctor boasted that he proclaimed his devotion to the Lost Cause almost in the hearing of the President and under the very shadow of the Federal Capitol. The dead Confederates were referred to as the "martyred brave." The act of secession he denies to have been rebellion or unconstitutional, but in accordance with the reserved rights of the States, and in self-defense. The war was commenced, the Doctor charges, by the United States in attempting to send troops to Fort Sumter, which was an act of war, and South Carolina had a right to resist it as an aggressive invasion of her soil! Coercion and emancipation he denounces as unconstitutional. The act of firing on the United States troops in the harbor of Charleston the orator calls repelling an invasion!

For cool and unblushing impudence we have never seen the equal of this oration of Dr. A. Y. P. Garnett.

"Let us start hosannas to the best Government the world ever saw! but let us never forget the principles for which we struggled through four long and bloody years; and let us never forget the gallant 'men in gray' who so nobly but yet so vainly struggled to vindicate and uphold their principles."—*Banner of Georgia*, 1868.

A year or two ago J. Z. George, a lawyer

of eminent ability and an officer of distinction in the Confederate service, proposed to publish a Digest of Mississippi Law Reports. He solicited and was granted a donation by the Republican Legislature of that year, to secure the publication of his digest, the sum of \$5,000. We give the eloquent *dedication* of this work, as we find it in an official copy, as an illustration of the love of the South for the "Lost Cause:"

"To the memory of Francis Marion Aldridge, who fell at the battle of Shiloh, this work is dedicated. A profound lawyer—a pure and honest man—a firm and upright patriot—he offered his life and its rich and varied gifts to the cause of his native land.

"That cause was to him a faith, and its followers brothers; and no one was more devoted to its fortunes than he.

"Our brethren of the bar, in this, as in all times past, were the stern advocates of freedom, and they staked all upon the issue of that cause in the bloody arbitrament of battle. Our heroes were vanquished, and the victor is now the judge. As misfortune endears the sufferer, so he who falls in battle in the defense of his convictions bears thenceforth a charmed name. To that cause which bound up my own most cherished sympathies, and to my professional brethren, who bore so large a share of its burdens, I desire to place an expression of my attachment and admiration upon this record, frail though it may be."

"It is a cause, and not the *fate* of a cause, which is a glory. All those who, like Aldridge, whether they fell or survived, gave their best efforts to their country are enshrined in my recollection; but I here select his name, not because it is the highest or the brightest amongst them all, but because it was to me the best beloved.

J. Z. GEORGE."

General George is one of the ablest lawyers of Mississippi. As chairman of the Democratic State Committee, he is the autocrat of that State. He was last year called "Governor George." And he was well named, for he held the reins over that people more absolutely than any absolute monarch on the earth. Take the following telegraphic correspondence pending the election of 1875 as an illustration:

"*To Campbell & Calhoun, Canton, Miss.:* If Warner goes to Madison, see by all means that he is not hurt. We are nearly through now, and sure to win. Don't let us have any trouble of that sort on our hands. He will probably be at his store to-night.

(Signed) J. Z. GEORGE."

"*To General George:* Your telegram of last night saved A. Warner at Calhoun.

(Signed) GART. A. JOHNSON."

Warner was chairman of the Republican

State Committee of Mississippi, and had a store at Calhoun, Madison county.

LEGISLATION OF 1876—CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

The Democratic Legislature, elected by the violence and frauds of 1875, assembled at the capital in January, 1876. Among other acts, it redistricted the State for members of Congress. Under Republican rule these districts had run across the State from line to line, taking in some counties of dense population, with others sparsely populated. The usurping Democratic Legislature made one district of a single tier of densely populated counties along the Mississippi river, extending from the extreme northern to the extreme southern limits of the State, a distance along the Mississippi river of *four hundred and eighty miles*, while its greatest width is not over *thirty miles*, and in one place only *twelve miles*. The Republican majority in this district is about 20,000!

The other districts are like chequer-boards. One county is attached to a district which it touches only by a *corner*. In all these the majorities are not decisive; in some doubtful, if not Republican.

A BIG BONANZA.

Wasteful and extravagant measures have been charged upon Republicans. An act of the present Democratic Legislature exceeds all Republican schemes of this sort combined. Large quantities of county paper and scrip in certain counties are of years' standing, and for good reasons repudiated by Republicans. The amount is not known. It may be only about a million dollars, and held by purchasers at about *five to ten cents* on the dollar. The act referred to directs tax collectors to receive this scrip in payment of taxes. It is now worth from *fifty to ninety cents* on the dollar.

This is believed to pave the way for the payment of all the scrip of all the counties issued since 1860, amounting to the grand total, probably, of *ten to twenty millions*.

At any rate, the Democratic press was furious because the court of last resort held that payment by the railroads during the war in Confederate money of a debt, contracted of the State for money loaned prior to the rebellion, was no payment.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

During Republican rule in Mississippi the laborer was protected in his earnings by *liens on crops raised by his labor*. This was changed by the new Legislature, and a preference is given to owners of land over merchants, laborers, and all others. Thus the vast laboring population whose labor creates the cotton is at the mercy of the few landed proprietors.

CRIMES.

The criminal laws of Mississippi have

been so changed by the usurping Legislature (Laws of 1876, p. 51) as to make the stealing of property of the value of *ten dollars grand larceny*, and a *penitentiary offense* for a period not exceeding five years. It is also *grand larceny*, with like penalty, to "*steal a hog, pig, shoat, cow, calf, yearling, steer, bull, sheep, lamb, goat, or kid of the value of one dollar or more.*"

See the statute. Comment is unnecessary. The purpose is too palpable.

CHOCTAW COUNTY, MISS., DEMOCRATIC RESOLUTIONS, SEPTEMBER, 1871.

Resolved, That we do this day organize in the interest of our State, and deem it our first duty, if possible, to deliver her from the despotic rule which the Radical party has, under the name of Republican, but by fraud and corruption, forced upon her patient but unwilling people.

Resolved, That the policy of the Radical party since the close of the civil war has been subversive of the Constitution and destructive of the rights of States and of individuals.

Resolved, That, reviewing it in this light, we do not recognize this policy, or any part of it, as permanent or irreversible, but look forward to the day when the patriotism, good sense, and love of liberty of the American people shall prompt them to abrogate this policy by constitutional means and return to the old land marks of STATE RIGHTS, constitutional liberty, and the supremacy of intelligence over ignorance.

Resolved, That the leading measures of the Radical State government meet with our unqualified condemnation, and should be immediately repealed; among which we enumerate the railroad subsidies, the FREESCHOOL LAW, the compulsory mingling of whites and negroes in public conveyances.

THREATS OF VIOLENCE.

We can't pay for stealing any longer. We had rather pay for war.—*Forest Register of October 31, 1868.*

We are opposed to lynch law under ordinary circumstances—we want to see peace and harmony prevail once more in this State—but we are not willing to submit to every outrage and indignity these pimps of hell are attempting to force upon us, and unless it is stopped, and that speedily, we will favor the hanging of the thieves and perjurers at once as the only means of saving us from utter ruin.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican of November 23, 1871.*

One good fighter and another good thinker might do wonders for our enemies in the coming contest. The party is a cowardly, currish set—one reason why the negroes are quitting them. The colored people despise a white man that is a coward.—*Forest Register of April 15, 1871.*

"P. C."—POLE-CAT CONVENTION.

There appears to be a unanimous disposition on the part of the people of Mississippi to resist the payment of the tax levied by the P. C. convention of our State. We are satisfied that there is no law to compel us to pay it, and we don't suppose any one is fool enough to pay it unless compelled by law or bayonets.—*Forest (Miss.) Register*, 1868.

General Gillem has promulgated an order enforcing the collection of the tax levied by the State Military-Reconstruction-Scallawag convention. The day has passed when edicts from district satraps frighten honest people. There is no power on earth, far less in this military district, to force these people to submit to any such robbery.—*Kosciusko Chronicle*, 1869.

Let unanimity of sentiment pervade the minds of men. Let invincible determination be depicted on every countenance. Send forth from our deliberate assembly of the 18th the soul-stirring announcement that Mississippians shall rule Mississippi, though the heavens fall. Then will woe, irremediable woe, betide the Radical tatterdemajons. Hit them hip and thigh, everywhere and at all times. CARRY THE ELECTION PEACEABLY IF WE CAN, FORCEFULLY IF WE MUST.—*Yazoo Democrat of September*, 1875.

All we know positively about the matter is, that if Congress does declare Eggleston Governor of the State, hell will be inaugurated at once, and the peace and quiet that now reigns throughout our borders will give way to rapine and murder.—*Brandon Rep.*, Feb. 4, 1869.

A Louisville paper makes the following attempt to again "fire the Southern heart:"

War is not a pleasant thing to contemplate; but war is preferable to slavery. One or the other, Democrats of the Constitution, you must choose.

Democrats must prepare to fight. Democrats must fight!

The people must rise in their power and hurl the whole devil-breeding crew back into perdition!

Every man must do his duty. Every patriot must stand ready! Every rusty gun must be cleaned!

Pray to God, if you will, to change the hearts of the scoundrels in power; but don't fail to mould bullets!

In humble imitation of the great exemplar, (Scipio,) boys, we will leave Mr. Lamar and his sort of cautious and tame men as a sort of "home guard," and step across and carry the war into Africa, and there defend the (Democratic) platform. If any charge you with being untrue to Democracy because you have stepped across the platform to go for its enemies, tell 'em to follow you into Africa and see how you make the wool fly for it.—*Meridian Mercury*, 1875.

* * * Slowly but steadily the States of the South, in spite of Radical interference, intimidation, and bribery, are being rescued from the hands of the thieves and robbers who have ruled us with a rod of iron since the folding of the "stars and bars." The people of the South are moving in earnest, and carpet-baggers must soon migrate and negroes be taught that the so-called "rebels" are still in power in the land. Mississippi will rise in her mighty strength and liberate her soil from its present thralldom.—*Meridian Gazette*.

If you "want to be an angel, and with the angels stand," just tell a South Carolinian that his grandfather was a Tory, or an honest Mississippi boy that his father is a Radical.—*Brandon Rep.*, May 23, 1872.

It is just as well, men of the North, that you should understand now, as at any other time, the people of the Southern States do not intend to be ruled by negroes. If it is the purpose of the United States Government to negroize the Southern States, they may as well know now as any other time that it has to be done with the bayonet, and has to be preserved by the bayonet in all time to come. The Southern people do not intend to be mongrelized. They prefer the sword—this they can always compel.—*Charleston (S. C.) Mercury*.

The Democratic party, if it wishes to survive the contest for the right, must meet force by force. We advise and advocate this course. If we must have a struggle, let the crisis be memorable.—*Lexington (Miss.) Advertiser*, March, 1868.

Arouse from your lethargy—be men once more—assert your rights and maintain them at all hazards—never give up the ship—fight the pirates as long as you have strength to strike a blow—fight them until hell freezes over, and then give them a tussle on the ice.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican*, October 17, 1872.

If we of Mississippi are forced into the "best Government the world ever saw," under the Constitution framed by that band of Northern thieves and Southern negroes, we may expect to see a second edition of hell organized here, with old Brindle Buzzard Eggleston as the principal recruiting officer. The simple fact that such a low-flung, villainous-looking and presumptuous upstart as Eggleston—a stranger and an associate of Loyal League negroes—should force himself into the gubernatorial chair, against the expressed wish of almost every white man in the State, would raise a little hell in the breast of every man who has a spark of manhood left.—*Brandon Republican*, Jan. 14, 1869.

The *Meridian Mercury* contained the following paragraphs, printed entirely in italics:

"Congress is now at work to legislate to trample out of the Southern heart the spirit of freedom to prepare the way for a despotic form of government. The *Meridian Mercury* is prepared to meet the issue—to fan the fires of liberty in Southern hearts and to counsel firmness till the hour of deliverance comes.

"The Radical party is meditating new tyrannies to crush out of the hearts of the Southern people all thoughts of obedience to God in resistance to tyrants. The duty of all true men is to endure and stand firm, and bide their time. The mission of the *Meridian Mercury* is to encourage the people to endure and be firm.

"The spirit of '76 is not yet dead. The plotters of the overthrow of the liberty achieved in '76 are pushing their schemes to its consummation. The mission of the *Meridian Mercury* is to fire the hearts of the people, North, South, East, West, with the love of the principles of the fathers as the surest safeguard against their overthrow."

"Fanning the fires of liberty in the Southern heart" and "firing the hearts of people North and South, East and West, with the love of the principles of the fathers," are decidedly good as coming from the gentleman who in a late number of his paper stated that he "used his best endeavors to swell the number of the band of brave, steady, and true" men who assembled with arms in their hands, after the great fire in Meridian, to make the colored people fly to their homes for safety.

PREPARATIONS FOR MISCHIEF.

The *Meridian, Miss., Mercury* of August 27, 1872, gave out this significant threat, the italics being its own:

"The few white men in this county who are giving their countenance and assistance to the negro population to go off by themselves and have their separate political organizations in strict negro exclusiveness, purposely, pointedly, and offensively avoiding all meetings by whites for consultation and debates upon the political topics of the Presidential canvass, and treating with rude contempt all overtures of peace, reconciliation, and good will upon the basis of the recognition and maintenance of their equal rights, are making the preparations for dire mischief, and they know it. It was precisely this sort of men who, by the encouragement they gave the negro population of Meridian and vicinity to meet in their separate conclaves, often in the night time, and mostly out of view of the white population, where race distinctiveness and race animosities were cultivated and the enthusiasm which numbers excite added, who are responsible for the feeling of disquiet with an ever present sense of insecurity that oppressed this

community during the terrible days of military rule proper, and which was borne without an appeal to the law of self-preservation as, we think, it will never be borne again."

There was a time in Mississippi when the law authorized white men to form patrols to break up assemblages of colored people. This law is no longer in existence. Colored people may get together for any lawful purpose, social, religious, or political, and no one is allowed to molest or make them afraid. We see from the *Daily Times* that the *Hinds County Gazette* appears to have forgotten this fact when it advises that "ten discreet white men" should attend every Radical meeting in that county, and if the negroes do not talk to please them, to make them get out. These "discreet men" are not to be armed with warrants of law, but possibly with derringers, revolvers, double-barreled shot-guns or breech-loading rifles. The idea is supremely ridiculous. Man is an imitative being—the colored people being a very docile race are peculiarly so, and are apt to copy the virtues as well as the vices of the Caucasian, and it is not impossible that they might also send "ten discreet" colored men to each Democratic meeting in Hinds county to see that things are done decently and in order. Then what would be the result?—*Copiah Herald, August, 1875.*

THE FIRST SCENE IN THE PLAY OF VIOLENCE.

Below we give a list of the presidents of the negro clubs in this county. In the coming election these must be marked men. We request every beat committee to save this list for future reference.—*Columbus Index, August, 1875.*

SPECIAL NOTICE.

We, the mill men of South Kemper, from this date propose to grind cane at the following rates, viz: For Democrats, for the third and fourth; for Radicals, one-half. (They vote a heavy tax on us, and we propose making them help pay it.) We recommend this policy to all the mill men of the State.

THE MILL MEN OF SOUTH KEMPER.

—*Meridian Mercury, September, 1875.*

We mention elsewhere the stampeding of a colored church congregation by some young white men of the sham Democratic persuasion in Claiborne county. Now comes the *Fayette Chronicle*, the Democratic organ of that county, with this remarkable announcement: "A very strange sight was seen on our streets a few days ago—two young men with a cowhide following a negro man, and making him go to everybody in town and say: 'I said I saw these two young men at the negro church last night; I told a d—d lie; I didn't see them.' The poor fellow thus escaped a flogging, and maybe

death, by saying that he had lied, when perhaps he had told the truth."

The Mississippi Mogul—the gilded puppet of usurpation—the representative of the administration which believes that government has but one function—that of collecting taxes, etc. * * *

Ames sees in the tranquillity of the native whites only the quiet of caged animals, himself their keeper, stick in hand, significant of Ku-klux catastrophes.—*Southern States*, July 8, 1874.

PUBLIC MEN TRADUCED.

For several years the American citizens suffered under the infamous tyranny of Lincoln, and Stanton, and Seward. All the history of America does not show us three such soulless despots; ghouls who rode rough-shod over the liberties, the rights, and the privileges of the American people; who made justice a mockery; who ruined many a citizen in the bastille, and who shackled the press, whose freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution. Each of these three has gone to his final account—the first killed in a theatre on Good Friday night; the second committed suicide to rid himself of his conscience; and the third permitted to die at his home in Auburn. God grant this country may never have another such a trio.—*Hansboro (Miss.) Democrat*, November 9, 1872.

The writer has witnessed the enthusiastic display of a photograph of Booth, the assassin of Lincoln, by a young lady teacher in the South, with the boast that of all her numerous photographs Booth's was her favorite!

Old Puritan Sumner has introduced a bill in the United States Senate imposing a penalty of two years' imprisonment at hard labor on persons who attempt to exercise official functions in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. We must swallow the (damnable) oath, or give up our offices to Massachusetts Yankees. So far as we are concerned, they may have them all, but we would advise them to keep within doors when they come here for that purpose, as the open air of this section is unhealthy for people raised in that region.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican*, June 21, 1869.

The President has ordered two more regiments of Yankee blue-coats from the Western frontier to the Southern States. The savages, it is true, are burning a few houses, murdering a few women and children, and scalping a few white men almost every day, but what of that? Carpet-bag official thieves must be protected—negroes must be allowed to steal—rebels must be punished for presuming to defend their families—white men must be forced to educate the children of black vagabonds who are too lazy to work—

the escaped convicts from New England penitentiaries and Western jails must be kept in office, and money enough must be stolen from Southern rebels to re-elect Grant to the Presidency in 1872.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican*, March, 1871.

THAT SENATE SCENE.

It was a good thing! It was a proper thing! It was a delightful scene—to see and hear that lousy and cowardly spoon-thief—the chief scab upon the country's diseased body—denounced as he was last week by Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, as a "d-d scoundrel." Davis has vindicated the moral sense of the people in this denunciation. Butler was getting impudent enough to make some claims to respectability until this eternal check. Now let him go, with a baser mark than ever disgraced Cain upon his foul person. He is the most contemptible and contemned man in America—the leading blackguard, thief, and master-coward of the century. There is but one comfort left him. There is no hell for him. Butler is too mean to go to that place—he must be annihilated.—*Forest Register*, April, 1871.

THE SUPREME COURT MALIGNED.

The Supreme Court has long since ceased to command the old time respect and confidence of the American people. It no longer stands as a bulwark against Federal encroachments; no longer as a tribunal for the administration of justice where the rights of the citizen are held above the mire of politics and partisan hate; but a mere retinue of persons selected to carry out the will of their imperial master.—*Vicksburg Herald*, December 18, 1872.

The *Southern States* for July 8, 1874, speaking of Judge Bradley's, of the Supreme Court, decision that the Ku-klux acts of the reconstruction programme are unconstitutional, says: "With this opinion, he put himself in the footsteps of Taney, and it is by this bold, full measure of justice that we will judge him."

HORACE GREELEY IN 1871.

One of our contemporaries wishes to know why it is that Horace Greeley spoke so favorably of the condition of affairs in Texas and so disparagingly of Mississippi, when it is known and acknowledged everywhere that Mississippi is much the most quiet of the two States. The question is very easily answered. Horace is a full-blooded Yankee, and always has sold his opinions for money—and the State of Texas paid him five hundred dollars for making them an agricultural speech. If Mississippi had given him a check for a thousand dollars he would have sworn that she was more loyal than Massachusetts.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican*, June, 1871.

The same paper supported Greeley in

1872. About 1869 that paper denounced all school teachers from the North as "Radical spies."

WITNESSES THREATENED.

The Jackson *Clarion*, speaking of "the Inquisitorial Committee Reports," (Boutwell's Special Committee on Mississippi Affairs,) says: "From time to time we will publish the testimony, so that those who have been slandered may know what was said of them by these drilled witnesses. It is well that they be known and what they have said of us be remembered."

OPINIONS OF NEW ENGLAND.

The Southern people will never follow the crazy "god and morality," negro-worshipping, spoon-stealing, white-man-hating, outside-of-the-Constitution-standing, black-and-white-blood-mixing, woman-crowding, baby-strangling, c-e-o-w-pronouncing, hell-deserving, New England Yankee clock-peddling, chicken-stealing, box-ankled, bandy-shanked, round-shouldered, hypocritical, canting, psalm-singing, cowardly cut-throat, slandering, vulgar, slimy-mouthed, onion-eating, whisky-drinking, sausage-stuffing scoundrels.—*Iuka (Miss.) Gazette*, 1869.

The Brandon (Miss.) *Republican* for January 21, 1869, says: "Our advice to parents is, never to buy a school book written by a New England god-and-morality, negro-equality Puritan. * * * * *

Better let your children grow up in ignorance than to have Puritan ideas instilled into their young minds."

The Northern vagabonds which infest our land will ere long be seen skulking back to the place from whence they came—that lovely country of hickory hams and wooden nutmegs—accompanied by a few Southern renegades who have rendered themselves extremely odious to former friends by aiding and abetting in their villainy. And when these boot-licks of tyranny sneak back, carpet-bag in hand, and think of the ghost of old John Brown marching on, we ask them to think of us as a people

"What hates the Cotton Mather and the Roger Williams stock,
That dirty pile of hell's manure first dumped
on Plymouth Rock."

—*Panola (Miss.) Star*.

The assumption, the product of those Puritan twins—impudence and ignorance, that the waving field of grain and cotton which annually bless the laborer throughout this broad land are in any wise due to the canting hypocrite who swindled the Indians, burned witches, and bastinadoed dissenters, is exquisitely ludicrous and could have had its birth only in the brain of a carpet-bag disciple of the latter day god-and-morality-saints of New England.—*Vicksburg (Miss.) Herald*, Nov. 29, 1872.

Eleven white-skinned Boston girls have

been married to negro men during the past year, and it is now confidently expected that the next generation will be a decided improvement on the Butler breed of dogs.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican*, June 8, 1871.

We believe it to be our duty to hunt up, expose, and denounce this rascality of the thieving villains, and though it is an unpleasant task, we intend to continue it as long as our State is cursed with the presence of the Northern scum who have escaped from the jails and penitentiaries of New England and came here to rob both black and white people.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican*, September 7, 1871.

There always was too many dogs in this country, and since the surrender we have had an influx of the Puritan breed that is very annoying. They don't get mad much, but they steal everything they come across, and their noses were built expressly for smelling out hidden treasure. Shot guns are best to use on this breed, but the four-legged fellows can be dispatched with strychnine.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican*, June 6, 1872.

Nearly every mail we have the exquisite pleasure of reading of our friends in different parts of the State being dragged away from their homes, from their wives and little ones, and hurled into a felon's cell, for no other crime than that of being white and not wallowing in the dust at the feet of some hypocritical and hell-deserving New England pedlar in sacrilegious cant and blasphemy.—*Oxford (Miss.) Falcon*, November 22, 1872.

We have had turbulence and riot, here in the South, to be sure, but they came mostly of the stimulating process of Government petting and the incendiary influence of Bureau and other agents of mischief, not omitting those *she devils of questionable virtue* who followed the fortunes of the Bureau in the South, to wit: the "marms."—*Meridian Mercury*, October 22, 1872.

"Massachusetts has more papers and drunken men than any other three States in the Union."—*Exchange*.

And you might have added more spoon thieves, watch thieves, piano thieves, U. S. Treasury thieves, of every grade, more political preachers, more reverend blackguards, more psalm-singing hypocrites, more men in petticoats and women in pants, more freeloivism, spiritualism, and niggerism, more vice and less virtue, more churches and less religion, more politicians and fewer patriots, more Republicans and fewer friends of the African, more women with false teeth, false hair, false calves, false eyes, and false bosoms; more children who never knew their fathers, and more people who think they are no better than negroes

than in any other five States in the Union. *Brandon (Miss.) Republican, February 11, 1869.*

"Thieves, forgers, pimps, purps, and Puritans generally, had better hunt their holes, if they don't want to be skinned alive. Colonel McArdle has few equals as a newspaper writer."—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican, February 12, 1874.*

PHILADELPHIA DENOUNCED.

Look at the Radical majority in the city of Philadelphia—once called the cradle of Liberty—heaven save the mark!—the city of brotherly love; the home of the peace society; the home of our "Friends"—God help us!—the Quakers; of the psalm-singing, nasal twanged Methodists and other Puritans—hell is full of such puritans and hypocrites; in this city of brotherly love, of churches and spires and steeples, of charitable institutions, colleges, and all the marks of civilization—in this city of Philadelphia there is hatred, malice, spleen, and venom enough in the hearts of her people against the people of the South to inevitably damn the whole city if it pleased the Almighty to rain justice upon her, as he reigned fire and brimstone upon the cities of the plain and at as short notice. * * * There certainly is a remedy, if our people only had the manliness and independence to use it. In matters of commerce our merchants could ignore Philadelphia utterly, and spend their money elsewhere.—*Vicksburg Herald, Nov. 16, 1872.*

THE SOUTHERN PROGRAMME.

1. The restoration of Southern unity by strict adherence to and maintenance of those Southern principles and sentiments which constitute the distinct characteristics of Southern civilization, and by scrupulously abstaining from all entangling alliances with any nominal national party division.

2. The honest and unselfish devotion of our united and most energetic efforts, as furnishing the only reasonable hope of ability, to displace the "fools and thieves" from power, and to fill their places with the fearlessly honest and capable.

3. Earnest and persistent exertions to insure our mental, moral, and material recuperation and regeneration at the earliest moment practicable.

4. With unity assured, our strength consolidated, our State and local interests wrenched from the "fools and thieves" who now pervert them to purposes of misrule, oppression, and plunder, we shall have accomplished all that we believe will be permitted to us during the existence of the New Nation, but should the future show us to have been in error, or should time develop such changes as may admit us to par-

ticipation in national affairs, we shall be in the best possible state of preparation to favor any measure or to sustain any national movement which may furnish assurances of the promotion of our interests and the restoration of our rights.

Thus by our independent organization we shall preserve our unity, consolidate our power, build up our interests, sustain our record, preserve our distinct civilization, and make it to the interest of possible rival contestants for national rule to vie with each other in recommending themselves to our confidence and favor.—*Mobile Tribune, June, 1870.*

"Alcorn has expressed the idea that if we don't behave ourselves our electoral vote will be thrown out and our representatives in Congress rejected. My reply to this is: Secure your position, fortify your ground, make yourselves impregnable. *The home government is the vital government with us.* In doing this we do the best we could do for those grand old statesmen, Tilden and Hendricks."—*Judge G. L. Potter, of Jackson, Miss., in Meridian, as reported in The Court, Aug. 17, 1875.*

Only a few days ago the "Southern States" said, declare Tilden and Hendricks elected and the South will sustain them!

SOUTHERN METHODIST MINISTERS.

Just before the close of the M. E. Conference, on Tuesday, one of the members introduced a resolution of thanks to the editor of this paper, when some one moved the adoption of the resolution by a standing vote, and the vote was unanimous. The compliment is highly appreciated. Having great faith in the honesty and integrity of Methodist ministers, we hereby authorize every one present to act as our agent for the *Brandon Republican* in the bounds of their ministerial labors. The *Republican* will continue to be a white man's paper—in favor of the organization of a white man's party as against the present organized negro party.

The above was published in our morning edition, and since then several ministers have called on us to learn our terms, and one of them stated that he would send us twenty subscribers in a short time. Work for your church organ first, and then put in a word for the *Brandon Republican*, the white man's paper.—*Brandon (Miss.) Republican, Dec. 19, 1872.*

THE METHODIST CHURCH.

The *Pilot* thinks, slavery being abolished, the Methodist Church South and North will reunite. The *Raymond Gazette* thinks differently and so do we hope. The sword of man turned us down at Appomattox, yet the love of God and his commandments should ever keep us aloof from the vandals.—*Forest Register, of May 7, 1873.*

NORTHERN BISHOPS INCENDIARIES.

The church North, as a body, entertains a deadly hostility to the white people of the South, especially the Southern Methodists. The negroes of the South have allied themselves to these, our enemies. Their Northern bishops come down annually and distribute their firebrands among the ignorant negroes. Each presiding elder obtains from these bishops the signs, grips, and passwords of the Radical party; he again organizes, through the local preachers and circuit riders, an ab-dution that allows not of disobedience.—*Forest Register*, January 5, 1876.

WHIPPING-POST AND PILLORY.

The *Meridian Mercury* and other papers have advocated the re-establishment of corporal punishment for minor offenses, and the restoration of these evidences of barbarism.

SOUTHERN WOMEN.

It is within the power of the truly noble women of the South, by the refined and blessed influence accorded to them in our civilization; to hold our white men in solid, compact array against the assaults of barbarism and the hateful emissaries of that corrupt partisanship, which, from Maine to Michigan, holds our Southern white blood in contempt.—*Forest, Mississippi, Register*.

General Gordon, of Georgia, in a speech said:

Of all the thoughts that cheer our souls and fill them with ecstasy, there is none so sweet or so consoling as the thought that we never knew a Southern-born Radical woman.—*Holly Springs South*.

The above is significant. We have an idea that the Southern ladies are instinctively, in hearts, souls, and mind, opposed to Radicalism. The mothers, sisters, and wives of Radicals proving no exception to the rule. This is the heaviest result to Radicalism in the list.—*Southern States*, August, 1875.

A PLAIN STATEMENT OF BOURBON OPINION.

When we tell Northern people that slavery is forever abolished and that our people would no more assume public and personal responsibilities incident to the defunct institution, when we assent to all facts necessarily pertinent to this change, when we agree to abide by issues which the war determined, we have done quite enough; beyond this all that is forced upon us is hateful. There is no necessity for any fraud in the matter, and when we assert that the constitutional amendments, except the thirteenth, are odious and will be rescinded whenever a convention of the States or absolute Democratic power in the Government may render the consummation possible, we tell the simple, unvarnished truth. There are few, very few, Southern people who differ from

us in this, and there are none, if honest and brave, who would have us fail to proclaim the fact. But hold! hold! say the cautious time-servers; don't tell now what you would do if you could. Call these odious measures and Ku-Klux acts "accomplished facts," and let us delude the North. Let us make New England happy with the assurance that we approve the civil rights and social equality measures, and all the enormities done by Congress. And what reason is assigned for the suggestion that we should become living lies, misrepresenting ourselves and the whole Southern people? The answer is, "Let us have peace!" The mockery of the horrible sentence has been illustrated through every day and week of Grant's official life. We cannot for such a boon utter or act a falsehood, and repeat it, that no measures of radicalism are made better or worse because they have been, in violation of organic law, made part of that law; and no law or act of that Government, wrong in itself, is made right by tamely submitting to it. We are for the lawful repeal of unlawful mockeries of constitutional law, and to this extent differ from Vallandigham, whose nerves have been unstrung by Radical triumphs, and whose eyes are dazed, as age comes over him, by the dawning splendors of a seat in the United States Senate.—*Memphis Appeal*.

HYPOCRISY OF SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS.

We are sorry to see that Judge Sharkey was so indiscreet as to argue the constitutionality of the reconstruction acts before the men who were mainly instrumental in its passage. The Judge is too honest an unsuspecting for a successful politician, and should never be intrusted with the management of a campaign. Like most of the old Whig politicians about our State capitol, he depends entirely upon the justice of his cause for success, and neglects all the little necessary strokes of policy.—*Brandon Republican*, January 21, 1869.

The calm, patriotic right-thinking people have accepted it (nomination of Judge Dent) not so much for the sake of the names upon it which are intrinsically meritorious, but as a part of the great plan of relief from military administration which holds their lives, liberties, and fortunes at the disposal of a weak and selfish ruler, and of deliverance from the misrule, anarchy, and spoliation of bitter-end Radical reconstruction.—*Jackson (Miss.) Clarion*, September 23, 1869.

Lamar in the South explains to his audiences that his Sumner eulogy was one of policy. He has so declared to public meetings repeatedly. On one occasion he offered in illustration the fact in the history of Lamartine in touching the red flag of the Commune!

CONTEMPT FOR THE FLAG.

The following from the *Mississippi Index* illustrates how our national flag is regarded:

"THE FLAG.—Not the rag that carries the stars and stripes, dear reader, but the *Mississippi Flag*, a most excellent and gallant Democratic newspaper recently removed from DeKalb to Meridian, Miss."

Here is a striking illustration of the political depravity, which would be echoed by many others if policy did not dictate a show of loyalty to the "the rag that carries the stars and stripes."

BURN'S TREASON APPROVED.

The long series of outrages of the North upon the South—the bold, open, unscrupulous violations of the sacred rights guaranteed to her people by a constitution chiefly cemented by their blood, and the terrible and merciless war which ended on the field of Appomattox, have recorded in burning words upon the pages of history the stern truth of Aaron Burr's prophetic visions.

But the cause which inspired him, and to which he fell a martyr—at least in public opinion—has not been crushed under the pompous and wordy eloquence of his prosecutors, and the soil on which commenced that martyrdom—like that of Mount Olivet—has not in vain witnessed the first pangs of his suffering; for, after over half a century had rolled into the abyss of Time, her gallant sons went "to do and die" on the same altar of equal and sovereign rights. Like him, they failed; but impartial history, in recording their valiant deeds, and embalming their bright fame, will vindicate the cause for which they suffered; a cause which will yet emerge triumphant out of the dark chaos of corruption, which, in this Centennial year of its foundation, seems to be destined by Providence to lay bare to the world the hideous sores which have eaten up the very pith and marrow of the principles of the founders of the Republic.—*Mobile Register*, April, 1876.

TREASON GLORIFIED.

We have done nothing, as a people, for which we have to reproach ourselves. Then away with the degrading and ruinous policy of conservatism, by which we tacitly admit that we were wrong and the North was right in the recent war. Away with it! we say. It is a slander upon the dead who died for us. It is a stigma upon every man who fired a gun for us in our grand heroic struggle for liberty. Down with it! spit upon it! trample it under foot! and brand with shame its base, unworthy defenders.—*Southern States*, 1876.

THE G. A. R. DENOUNCED AS RUFFIANS.

Despite the recent indignity heaped upon Mr. Davis by the Grand Army of the Repub-

lic, Indiana and Illinois seemed determined to honor him. These States, and others, have invited him to deliver addresses before their agricultural societies, and which is a just rebuke to the disgraceful conduct of Grant's Grand Army ruffians.—*Mississippi Central*, August 28, 1876.

COERCION A CRIME—TREASON PATRIOTISM.

After alluding to the probability that Mr. Jeff. Davis will not be tried for treason, the *Water Valley* (Miss.) *Eagle* for January 30, 1869, says:

"Now, what is the plain, necessary, inescapable inference from all this?"

"It is this: 1. That they were afraid to bring Mr. Davis to trial lest by their certain failure to convict—certain as death!—the Southern people would be vindicated.

"2. That no treason had been committed by Jefferson Davis, or any of those with whom and for whom he had acted."

"3. That in the matter of the difference of political opinion between those loose constructionists of the Constitution represented by Abraham Lincoln, and the strict constructionists represented by Jefferson Davis, the latter, after all, were right, and the former wrong, in their interpretation of the great fundamental compact of Union, the 'articles of partnership' under which we have been living and acting as a great unconsolidated nation since 1789.

"The failure, then, to even try to convict and punish any one 'in order to make treason odious,' proves most conclusively, not only that no treason has been committed, but that those who resorted to coercion to prevent secession, and so brought on a bloody war, are responsible for every drop of blood spilled in that war.

"It proves, too, that every man who understood the Constitution of his country and still counseled war to prevent secession—every man who allowed himself to be dragged into war against the South—was a wholesale murderer; and, that, among them, the Northern leaders—the intelligent advisers and abettors of Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, E. M. Stanton, Beas F. Butler, and the rest—they have the blood of a million murdered citizens on their hands—the unimaginable crimes and horrors of a four years' bloody and, on their side, barbarously conducted war on their political souls.

"Nor is this all of their incalculable, inexpiable guilt. They robbed the South whose innocence is now, by 'actions which speak louder than words,' admitted by her enemies themselves, of untold millions of wealth—the great item in the account being four millions of slaves, worth four thousand millions of dollars; a species of property recognized by God himself, and originally purchased from the robbers them-

selves, who, still further back, kidnapped them from their native shores!

"Hereafter, as in the old time, let rebellion be a term of honor, and coercion one of dishonor, to the end of the world."

TREASON STILL RAMPANT.

"The power to which we surrendered has acted like a cowardly, cruel tyrant, instead of the brave, and noble, and magnanimous foe. We laid down our arms *because* we were promised protection, and for no other reason. Had it not been for the promise, the South might have been overrun, but she would have been unconquered to-day. The promise has been violated in every particular.—*Southern States*.

THE NORTH MUST CONFESS.

The *Mobile Tribune* (John Forsyth) for June 27, 1869, publishes a long editorial under the caption of "Revolution our only hope," and after pre-mising that the Republic exists only in name, states the following as the results of the war and the remedy to renew Southern prosperity:

I. The overthrow of State sovereignty.

II. The emancipation of the negro.

III. A more thorough prostitution of the ballot-box than had been accomplished before that war, which was due primarily to an unwise extension of the right of suffrage.

IV. Rivers of blood between two sections, never to be bridged on the plan of "by the consent of the governed."

V. The arrogance, selfishness, and corruption of the Northern masses, due to the war, or brought to light by it.

Before such obstacles can be removed the Northern people must confess in sackcloth and ashes that the war they waged against the South was for plunder, and the overthrow of constitutional freedom.

OSTRACISM.

Senators and members of Congress from the South deny the existence of Southern ostracism on account of political opinions. Those who enter these denials do so knowing their denials to be untrue. The fact is every Democratic paper and every Democratic politician in the South advises ostracism and proscription.

Posterity will despise and curse the man who to-day—in the country's hour of danger—deserts the platform of patriotism, and for the sake of obtaining favor with thieves, panders to the erection of a despotism upon the ruins of American liberty.—*Panola Star*, May 16, 1868.

We think that those of our native born citizens who extend the hand of welcome to the robbers and thieves that are now sucking our life's blood ought to be branded with as indelible a mark as Cain and his posterity were by the Almighty.—*Senatobia Times*, Aug 1871.

Let it be borne in mind that a voluntary affiliation with the party which has inflicted so much wrong upon us accomplishes our utter and complete overthrow. Nothing of honor or renown will then linger around the ruins and memories of the "lost cause." The ignominious disgrace of our affiliation with negroes and Radicals will efface all the brighter pages of our history. The world will no longer glow with enthusiasm over the splendid glories of the immortal victories of the Army of Northern Virginia, when it reads that Virginians who were brave in war became cowardly in peace, and fawned like whipped spaniels at the feet of their oppressors and of their former slaves.—*Richmond (Va.) Examiner*, 1867.

THE COMMON SCHOOLS AND THE EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

The *Southern States* says, Nov., 1870: "The organizing of an expensive public school system in the State of Mississippi, compelling the masses, whether they had children or not, to pay a portion, and a large portion too, towards educating the 'rising generation,' was a crime—deep, damning, and Radical." * * *

"There is nothing clearer than that the man who begets children and the woman who bears them are the natural protectors, supporters, and educators of the home and begotten. If you can find a man who can give a better reason why the State should give mental pabulum to the children of its citizens than physical food to the same we shall be obliged for being shown a natural curiosity in the matter of logic. It is no more right, therefore, to compel A to educate B's children than it is to force him to feed them." * * *

"Indeed, where the villain is in a man, (or a child if you prefer it,) the education of the State schools only brings it out, and makes him the more a powerful engine of hell."

Prof. T. S. Gathright, President of Sumnerville Institute, at Gholson, Miss., writes to *The Beacon*, Dec. 23, 1873, fully indorsing the views of the *Forest Register*, and, carrying out the same ideas, says:

"The white people of the State have no voice in shaping the school law." * * *

"All taxation of a people for purposes of free education is wrong." * * *

"Free schools maintained by a tax levied upon the property of a State can be justified only when they are confined to elementary instructions."

"To go beyond a strictly elementary course of instructions is wrong, because it destroys the profession of teaching by breaking up all private schools in the country, and utterly smothering all emulation among teachers."

For the Forest Register.

SCOTT CO., Miss., Feb. 1873.

EDITOR REGISTER:—I wish you would give your readers, if you can, the names of the fools in the Legislature that are in favor of the present system of stealing called the Public Schools. In any other age of the world I would have used an adjective strong, to the appellation of the party in the first paragraph.

The system has been tried, and I want you to plant yourself in the highway and accost the negroes as they come along, and if they have any more sense now than they had ten years ago, then I am fit for the Legislature myself.

In this matter I don't ask for statesmanship at Jackson. I only want common sense. The school fund is only provender to grow villains on. We fat them with the people's money only to increase the stand of fools. If not before the next election, we mean to weed somebody out. People talk about being Governor! It would look better for some of the pretenders first to aspire to the position of having some sense. SIGMA.

"It has been claimed that education is the great reformer of the African race that would assimilate them in all their bearings as members of society to the whites. Events are now happening thick and fast which go to establish the contrary of the proposition, and to hold out the pleasant prospect that when the humanitarians shall have achieved the greatest success attainable in educating the poor benighted Southern negroes the South will have been made a hell indeed, thickly inhabited with devils of the approved satanic order." * * *

"Their savagery is more rampant over beyond the old slave border, where the darkies are educated, polite, and refined, though fewer of them, than in these negro States, where the 'cornfield negro' is not yet quite extinct."—*Meridian (Miss.) Mercury*, October 22, 1872.

The Forest, Miss., *Register* of July 4, 1875, said: "The whole system of free schools is an eleemosynary tribute to laziness and improvidence." "The easiest way to be rid of this threatened volcano is to abolish all public schools and allow every man to educate his children according to his taste and ability, just as he does about victuals and clothes for the family."

The East *Mississippian*, published at Seoba, Miss., fulminates the following on the subject of educating the colored man:

"Sambo is now a brute. We would make him a man. Ideas which we have been trying to force through his wool for the past six years, and which are still entangled there might possibly enter if the windows of his

soul were thrown open by judicious education."

Upon which the West Point, Miss., *Citizen* thus comments:

"The negro's mind is filled with the same POLITICAL ETHICS that are believed and taught by a majority of the people of the Northern States, who claim to be the best educated people on the continent. What remedy will our cotemporary apply to 'FORCE' CORRECT POLITICAL TRUTHS INTO THEIR SKULLS? STATE EDUCATION IS A VIOLATION OF REPUBLICAN FREEDOM and of common justice, and is inseparable from peculation and scoundrelism."

THE COLORED PEOPLE "BARBARIANS," "INFERIORS"

Prof. T. S. Gathright says in a letter to the *Southern States*, August 4, 1875: "We are held in bondage by semi-barbarians, marked by Heaven with the impress of inferiority."

"Brutes," "savages," "barbarians," "inferior race," etc., are common terms applied to the colored people and indicate the opinion in which they are held by the whites.

"God did not design them (negroes) by the same model, neither did he intend them to subserve the same end."—*Southern States*.

"The negro is essentially, strictly, naturally a barbarian."—*Id.*

THANKSGIVING DAY.

"Grant has appointed the 28th day of November as a day of National Thanksgiving. If he would shoot himself between now and then all decent men would keep the day with a vengeance."—*Columbus Index*, October 15, 1872.

FOURTH OF JULY.

"The recollection of Grant's triumphal march into the city at 10 o'clock on that memorable morning, nine years ago, is likely to keep many of our people from having any particular love for independence day while the book of memory lasts."—*Vicksburg Herald*, July 4, 1872.

STATE RIGHTS.

When the Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar was a candidate for Congress, the Jackson, Miss., *Clarion*, par excellence the organ of the Mississippi Democracy, proclaimed Mr. Lamar as a firm believer in the doctrine of *State Rights*.

That paper advocates the same doctrine.

Referring to the Baltimore Convention of 1872, the Brandon, Miss., *Republican* of July 18, of that year, said: "Of the platform upon which they stand we need only say that the principle therein asserted, and which will be maintained by them to the fullest extent, that of local self-government, gives us all that we could hope for, all that we desire."

There are but two parties, and one issue. Men may not know it, but all anti-Radicals are obliged to assume that the States are free, sovereign, and independent.—*Southern States.*

When A. H. Stephens was carried before the Congressional Committee, expecting a death blow to the principles of secession, the Radicals were amazed that he admitted it a right, but an impolitic move. So say we about Bourbonism. We are for a white man in a white man's place. What are you for?—*Forest Register.*

In reality the right of States to govern themselves is as dear to the people as it ever was. * * * * *

The Southern States are not living under a fair or free government. * * * *

No doubt the system introduced as a "war measure" into the South after the war, chiefly upon the advice of Senator Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, was experimental; but can we wonder that people everywhere begin to ask how long the experiment is to last?—*Southern States, June 10, 1874.*

The *Southern States*, of Okolona, Miss., of 1871, thus explains its position upon the State Rights principles of the Democratic party South:

"There are certain grand, abiding principles in politics that can never be made to occupy a secondary position. Pre-eminent among these is the doctrine of State Rights.

"All the woes and wrongs that we have suffered since 1861 have had their origin, either mediately or immediately, in the denial of this most vital tenet in the Constitution of the Republic.

No fair and impartial student of our history can say, with any sense of sincerity, that the South committed treason by seceding from the States-Union. The brand of 'traitor' cannot be stamped upon the brow of a single Confederate soldier or civilian. It is true that we tried to sever the Federal compact. It is likewise true that we fought through four years of blood and fire to lay the foundation stones of a new and purer Government. For doing this we have nothing to regret. We did it deliberately—with our eyes wide open; and we have no excuses to make, no pleas to proffer in our own behalf. If there is any forgiveness to be asked in the premises, let the North kneel humbly and sue for it at our hands. As for ourselves, we scout the very thought that we stand in need of it. We now trust that the world knows our position, for we have spoken with the plainest candor and in terms that cannot possibly be mistaken or tortured from their transparent meaning."

The *States* is the representative journal of the strict Democratic creed of Mississippi, and its utterances are the accepted theories of the Democracy in the South.

The principles of State sovereignty in the hands of men who will administer this Government in the interests of all the States of this Union will work such results as will make the principles of Democracy acceptable to the whole body of the people.

Since Mississippi has been a province under the reconstruction measures and has stood subordinate to the Executive will liable at any time to be commanded by the military arm of the Government, we have constantly looked alone to the action of the States' rights men of the West and North to restore us in the course of time to our normal condition. So long as our material interest, our financial condition, alone was involved we bore the ills with endurance, indulging the comforting assurances that after the stupendous weakness and awful mistake of reconstruction had run its course, wreaked its vengeance, sated its greed of gain, and drenched the whole land with sorrow, suffering, and agony, that the wise, sympathetic, and benevolent men of the North, who put into the field while the physical war was waging an opposition ticket to the Lincoln administration—declaring their purposes to be wicked—would still, in the piping times of peace, come boldly to the front and snatch the power from the hands of those frenzied demons who have pursued us like sleuth hounds for the last twenty years.—*Southern States, (Okolona, Miss.,) August 26, 1874.*

PROPHECIES.

We shall joyfully hail the time when those true and tried men who battled so nobly for Southern rights and Southern institutions shall be heard again in the halls of Congress denouncing corruption and treason to the Constitution, and defending, with their eloquence and their logic, the pure republican form of government intended by the fathers of the country, which by their wisdom and their blood they brought from out of chaos, and by their patriotism converted a monarchy into a democracy. But then the time has not yet come; wait until we can get a majority in Congress who will certainly remove all disabilities, from those of Jefferson Davis down to the humblest who feels that he is proscribed; then we will have our noble men again where they can be heard from, and soon, very soon after, may we expect to see "treason made odious." For the present "let us possess our souls in patience," knowing that after a while "all things will work together for good."—*Tishomingo (Miss.) Herald, September 10, 1872.*

Speaking of the disposition of the Northern Methodist Church to sustain the Government in the South, the *Macon (Ga.) Journal* says:

"Should the Methodist Church North sue-

ceed in its present enterprise of ingrafting itself upon the State, we will see in this country yet a reproduction of the fires of Smithfield. We do not speak lightly, and the sacredest memories of all our lives forbid we should speak irreverently.

* * * * *

"The conspirators against liberty and the base wretches who, like niggers at a fire, are waiting to enrich themselves by the wreck of the country, would be driven from public sight, or the true sons of freedom would be aroused to arms in its behalf."

Other papers advise the expulsion of religious books and religious literature of the North from the South on the ground that the Northern religious sentiment is opposed to that of the South.

For a similar reason books for the secular schools published in the North are being excluded from the South.

"Perhaps the revolution now in progress at the North may lead to internecine war among its rival factions. If war must come, there is where it should begin. But if we start the trouble here, you may bat your last pound of mess pork that all parties up there will postpone their private quarrel and 'pitch into us,' while if we stand aloof until they are well mixed up in a general fight, we can then not only take care of the loyal leagues and scalawag Yankees here, but step in as a united body, holding the balance of power, and control the contest."

—*Kosciusko (Miss.) Chronicle.*

At the banquet after his oration, in 1871, at the Virginia Military Institute, General

Wade Hampton made a reply to a toast to "the fallen heroes of the war," in which he said, (we copy from the report in the Richmond rebel papers):

"Alluding most touchingly to our martyred dead, he said that our grief should be tempered as we remember that they fell when they thought they would not fall in vain—that they fell in the bright hope that success would crown our efforts. *But he did not believe they had fallen in vain—the cause for which Jackson and Stuart fell cannot be in vain, but in some form would yet triumph.* He proposed the 'Lost Cause,' for which our heroes fell. This was drank silently and solemnly by all; and in looking around we observed that nearly all present were Confederate soldiers."

RECONSTRUCTION.

Many Democrats in Mississippi favored reconstruction under the acts of Congress, not upon principle but from policy, in order to get the State into the hands of the people for further operation; and relief from the terms of those assurances. Such was the oft-repeated declaration of the *Clarion*, the leading organ of the Democracy of Mississippi. It protested over and over that it was opposed, in principle, to the whole Congressional plan of reconstruction, but favored it as a mode of early escape from its terms.

"We seek to return to a place in the Union not because we love it, but to make your powers of darkness tremble, and once more retire, abashed, from the presence of Southern genius and indignation."—*Forrest Register, Jan. 29, 1873.*"

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...The first and all absorbing topic of national import has been the Presidential election. All other interests have been subordinate to this one overshadowing issue. The contest is now virtually decided in favor of the Republican nominees, although the Democrats still strongly protest against this conclusion, and claim the election of Tilden and Hendricks. The election occurred on the 7th instant, and at this writing, November 16, there are still some doubts as to the actual result. The following States are conceded to Hayes and Wheeler:

	Elec-oral vote.
California.....	6
Colorado.....	3
Illinois.....	21
Iowa.....	11

Kansas.....	5
Maine.....	7
Massachusetts.....	13
Michigan.....	11
Minnesota.....	5
Nebraska.....	3
Nevada.....	3
New Hampshire.....	5
Ohio.....	22
Oregon.....	3
Pennsylvania.....	29
Rhode Island.....	4
Vermont.....	5
Wisconsin.....	10

Total.....166

The following are conceded to Tilden and Hendricks:

Alabama.....	10
Arkansas.....	6
Connecticut.....	6
Delaware.....	3

Georgia.....	11
Indiana.....	15
Kentucky.....	12
Maryland.....	8
Mississippi.....	8
Missouri.....	15
New Jersey.....	9
New York.....	35
North Carolina.....	10
Tennessee.....	12
Texas.....	8
Virginia.....	11
West Virginia.....	5
Total.....	184

The result in the following States is dis-

puted:

Florida.....	4
Louisiana.....	8
South Carolina.....	7

Total.....19

Whole number of votes.....369

Necessary to a choice.....185

Including the disputed States, which are confidently claimed by the Republicans, the electoral vote for Hayes and Wheeler is 185, a majority of one. The closeness of this contest has no parallel in our political history, and it is rendered additionally difficult and doubtful by the fact that the States upon which the issue depends are themselves close, and present an electoral vote that is disputed upon the means by which it was obtained. But, taking the vote as it appears to stand at this time, and counting it for the Republican nominees, the Republicans yet remain as the only parties who may rightfully feel aggrieved, and have good cause for complaint. The three disputed States are Republican in administration, sentiment, and majorities. All three of them have gone Republican at every election since reconstruction in 1867, and are more decidedly Republican to-day than ever before. A careful estimate, by past majorities and present registration shows the Republican majorities in those States to be in round numbers as follows:

Florida.....	5,000
Louisiana.....	20,000
South Carolina.....	45,000

A free canvass and free and honest election would have given those States to the Republicans by these figures. As it is, however, these majorities have been reduced to

a few thousand at best, and even this meagre claim is denied by the Democrats, who demand at least one of these States to secure Mr. Tilden a constitutional majority.

And how have these majorities been reduced? It is gratifying that at last this inquiry has become a serious one to the Government and to the loyal people of the North.

Year after year since reconstruction the Republicans of the Southern States, at the peril of property and life and every thing that

men hold dear, have battled to maintain the principles of their party and establish them in the fundamental laws of the South. For this offense, and this alone, they

have been ostracised, proscribed, persecuted, maligned, driven out, and assassinated. They

have encountered a degree of prejudice, hate, and violence such as no one not actually

acquainted with their sufferings can realize or understand. Hundreds have been murdered

in every Southern State south of Tennessee for opinion's sake, and these martyrs' bones

in many instances lie bleaching upon the barren hillsides, covered only by the waving ledge or the briars of a summer's growth. The

little hillocks in the colored people's graveyards, too new for the green covering of

nature's robe, and moistened with tears that mourn a murdered father, brother, or son, are

painful reminders of the terrible ferocity and madness that possesses that land. No people

have ever before endured as much in the name of liberty, and so desperate has the situation at last become to them that they have

to choose between a manly defense or a humiliating surrender of their convictions and rights to the fell spirit of Democracy.

This certainly would be the alternative if Mr. Tilden became President. Their last hope

now lies in the election of Governor Hayes. All things considered, it is well for the

nation, and for the South in particular, that the doubtful States in this controversy are found at the South. The settlement will

serve two purposes. First, the Government has permitted a system of campaigning to be carried on upon its soil which asserted as its primary object an utter defiance of the majority principle, and substituted brute force for the legitimate means of carrying elections. By arming and equipping as for war; by

organization, drill, and discipline; by studied and boldly executed methods for suppressing or overcoming the popular will, in defiance of all law, human and divine, State after State has been usurped by minorities, and are to day held by the strong arm of force. Notable and recent is the case of Mississippi. There an acknowledged Republican majority of thirty thousand protests in vain against as foul a usurpation as could be committed, and the same means that were resorted to a year ago to seize the State have been practiced this year to elect Tilden and a solid Congressional delegation. Had the Government nipped the "Mississippi plan" in the bud while it was yet under control that State would have been saved to the cause of good government, and the "plan" by which it was carried would not have been adopted with such approximate success in the other Republican States of the South. But a temporizing policy was demanded by a slumbering North that could not be aroused and would not hear the cries of danger. The consequence is our present very great peril. Not satisfied with overriding majorities to get possession of the State governments, and meeting with no marked rebuke from the General Government, they come now with the same spirit and attempt to capture the Government of the nation. Suddenly the people are alarmed, and well they may be, but to the Republicans of the South the danger is not a new one; they have witnessed its aggressions in many campaigns and have felt its increasing terror and ferocity at each ensuing election. Now that the danger is apparent it will be remedied, and in this the South is particularly interested. The controversies in Louisiana and South Carolina will result in probing the Democratic policy to the bottom, and develop a condition of affairs that will shock and appall the senses of the people. The ghastly spectacle of horrid butcheries by noonday and stealthy assassinations by night will be everywhere apparent. The long roll of the martyred dead will swell to thousands, and the nation, indignant and outraged almost beyond endurance, will then be ready to guarantee protection to the long suffering loyalists of the South at whatever cost.

To this part of the investigation the Democracy very naturally object. They denounce every attempt to go behind the face of their black record. They stand upon counting the votes actually polled regardless of their character. Had the election been free and fair this would be right, but it was neither, and was not designed to be. Had it been their party would have been overwhelmingly defeated. Under present conditions the ballot-box almost universally in the South is a mockery of freedom, a sham and deceit. It represents only the aggregated strength of intimidation, violence, and murder. Its ballots are dripping with loyal blood, and stained with the foul hands of unblushing crime. If the will of the people is to be ascertained investigation must be pushed behind this stuffed and dishonored receptacle. It must go to the humble cottage and the lonely cabin, and giving heart once more to their terrified and outraged occupants learn the story of their wrongs and the choice of their manhood citizenship. In this way the popular will may be ascertained, and when it is it will speak in thunder tones against all the candidates of the Democracy and swell the call for Hayes and Republican government. An honest count is demanded, but an honest election is demanded first. By this principle alone can the Government stand. If it permits a party to take possession red-handed with violence it acknowledges the failure of its free elective system, and the corruption of its source of power. Mob rule supplants the free suffrages of the people, and anarchy and disruption must speedily follow. Will the American people tamely submit to this black conspiracy for their destruction, or will they so effectually crush it that its monster form may never again be witnessed in the land? This is the vital question of the hour, and upon its determination depends the perpetuity of our free institutions and the fate of the Republic.

STATE ELECTIONS.

...The October elections occurred on the 10th ultimo. After a canvass unprecedented for its energy and enthusiasm by both parties Ohio was carried by the Republicans with 7,000 majority, and Indiana by the Demo-

erats with 5,500 majority. This result had no appreciable effect upon the Presidential election, and left the contest open to be decided upon the real strength of the two great parties. Had both the October States gone for one party or the other their decision would have been accepted as conclusive, and the winning party would have been accorded the victory without further struggle.

Governors were elected in the following States: Republican—Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, and South Carolina. Democratic—Georgia, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

THE CENTENNIAL.

...This great international exhibition was formally closed on the tenth instant, the day originally fixed for its termination. The expectations of its projectors and the people of the United States have been more than realized. Representatives of foreign countries acknowledge it to be the grandest display witnessed in modern times, and it was most likely the grandest the world has ever known. Every feature and object of the exhibition was a success. During the last three months the average daily attendance was ninety thousand persons, and the total admissions exceeded eleven millions. No accident or disturbance of consequence occurred during the entire period the fair was open to mar the uniform good feeling and attractions that characterized its progress from beginning to close.

The concluding ceremonies were of an unusually impressive character. The following was the programme:

At sunrise a Federal salute of 13 guns to be fired from George's Hill by the Keystone Battery, and simultaneously from the United States steamer Plymouth, in the harbor.

1. Inauguration March by Richard Wagner, orchestra; Theodore Thomas, musical director.

2. Prayer, Rev. Joseph A. Reiss.

3. Choral Fugue, S. Bach; orchestra.

4. Address, Hon. D. J. Morrill, United States Centennial Commissioner from Pennsylvania and Chairman of the Executive Committee.

5. Selections from the Dettinger Te Deum; chorus and orchestra.

6. Address, Hon. John Welch, President of the Centennial Board of Finance.

7. Finale, fifth symphony of Beethoven; orchestra.

8. Address, Hon. A. T. Goshorn, Director General.

9. Hallelujah Chorus, from the Messiah, by Handel; chorus and orchestra.

10. Address, Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, President of the United States Centennial Commission.

11. America, chorus and orchestra. The audience joining in the singing. During the singing of "America" the original flag of the American Union, first displayed by Commodore Paul Jones on the Bon Homme Richard to be unfurled in front of the Main Building, above the platform, and a salute of forty-seven guns, one for each State and Territory, be fired from George's Hill by the Keystone battery and, simultaneously, from the United States steamer Plymouth in the harbor.

12. The President of the United States to declare the International Exhibition of 1876 closed.

13. Dextology, "Old Hundred," chorus and orchestra, the audience joining.

General Joseph R. Hawley, President of the Centennial Commission, spoke as follows.

The final day of the Exhibition has arrived. Four years and a half ago the Centennial Commission was organized under the legislation of the National Government to celebrate the Centennial anniversary of our national independence by holding an International Exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine. The National Congress deemed it fitting that the completion of the first century of our national existence should be commemorated by a presentation of the natural resources of the country and their development, and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind, in comparison with those of older nations. Happily the United States was and is at peace with the whole world. International exhibitions have become an established factor in modern civilization, but connected with this were features of peculiar and local interest. They have not interfered with its progress; indeed, the acceptances of other nations and the very friendly congratulatory letters addressed to the President of the United States on the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth of July shows that they have rather given an opportunity for expressions of cordial goodwill that have given very great pleasure to the whole American people. There were many and great difficulties in the path of the enterprise—the usual misapprehensions, the disturbed condition of business and finance at home and abroad, and the slow conversion of public sentiment which in the earlier days feared that justice might not be done to American resources and capabilities. We recall the hours of uncertainty and discouragement solely that we may felicitate our-

selves upon results that have answered the hopes and predictions of the most sanguine. The Exhibition has given us a better comprehension of our position and progress. We expected and hoped to be taught our shortcomings in some respects, and we shall profit by the lessons. And yet I gathered from my countrymen the general impression that they are not a little pleased to see how well our productions in many departments have borne the comparison to which they have been subjected. Unquestionably international trade and commerce will be promoted; our manufacturers, mechanics, and artists will show by their work that they have been close students of the admirable exhibits from abroad, and have taken advantage thereof. The ingenuity and excellence of our mechanics and inventors will be made better known. A high benefit has been wrought. The bonds of peace have been strengthened. Innumerable ties have been created that will be strongly felt where ever national disagreements are threatened. Our people are so widely scattered, and their relations have been so seriously disturbed that every patriot anxiously desired them to seize the great occasion to know each other better, that they may love each other better. What has been done toward this is one of our most valuable labors. The concurrent and almost wholly harmonious testimony of our citizens, at home and abroad, permit us to feel that we have on the whole been largely successful in all our work. This commendatory judgment is very grateful to us. My associates have given expression to our gratitude. I would gladly add to what they have said if I could. The commission thanks the city of Philadelphia, the State of Pennsylvania, the National Government, and especially you, sir, our honored President. It thanks the Foreign Commissioners, one and all, most heartily. It thanks the exhibitors of all nations. It thanks the American people, whose conduct here has commanded unbroken respect. It thanks warmly its associate corporation, the Board of Finance. Above all, it reverently acknowledges the kind favor of heaven, which has so smiled upon us that while we turn somewhat sadly from these scenes of great labor and greater pleasure, all who have been associated here may feel that they have done something toward advancing the world to the better day coming. God be praised for the past. God send us all, individuals and nations, a happy future.

Mr. President we await your pleasure.

His excellency the President then stepped to the front and said: "Mr. President and gentlemen, I now declare the Centennial International Exhibition closed."

"Give the signal," said Gen Hawley at the same instant, and turning to the telegraph operator behind him. The signal—"76"—was given, and while a thousand gongs rang out their last alarm there, the great Corliss engine in Machinery Hall gave one or two expiring strokes and stopped. Its work was done. At the same time the following message was sent to London, Canada, and throughout the Union:

CENTENNIAL GROUNDS, PHILADELPHIA,
UNITED STATES, Friday, Nov. 10, 1876
The President has this moment closed the International Centennial Exhibition—3:37 p. m.

The last act of the programme was the singing of the Doxology by the audience and chorus accompanied by the orchestra.

PROTECTION FOR THE SOUTH.

...On the 10th instant the President sent the following dispatch to General Sherman:

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 10.

Gen. W. T. Sherman, Washington, D. C.:
Instruct General Augur in Louisiana, and General Ruger in Florida, to be vigilant with the forces at their command to preserve peace and good order, and to see that the proper and legal Boards of Canvassers are unmolested in the performance of their duties. Should there be any grounds of suspicion of fraudulent count on either side it should be reported and denounced at once. No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns.
U. S. GRANT.

O (SCOTT) LORD.—How the "lamb" of Carolina, Wade Hampton, Butler, and Gary, will grind their teeth and howl when they see the white and colored Republicans walk calmly and peaceably up to the polls and deposit their votes on election day, while the Union troops stand by at parade rest! And how they will bless Scott Lord when the election returns give the State to the Republicans, and they reflect that but for his timely resolution they would have had such a delightful time on that day shooting down negroes and chasing white men away. All their fun has been spoiled, and like naughty children they put their fingers in their mouths and suck. Dear little innocents!

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

The following is a list of the names of the members of the next House of Representatives thus far elected, revised by our latest advices. The names of Republicans are followed by an *r.*; of Democrats by a *d.* Candidates whose election is not assured are marked with a (?), and those whose seats will probably be contested by the letter *c.*

ALABAMA.

1. F. G. Bromberg, *d.*
2. B. A. Herbert, *d.*
3. Jer. N. Williams, *d.*
4. Chas. M. Shelby, *d.*
5. Robert F. Ligon, *d.*
6. G. W. Hewitt, *d.*
7. W. H. Forney, *d.*
8. W. W. G. Orth, *d.*

ARKANSAS.

1. L. P. Gause, *d.*
2. W. F. Simons, *d.*
3. John McClure, *r.*
4. T. M. Gauder, *d.*

CALIFORNIA.

1. Horace Davis, *r.*
2. Horace F. Page, *r.*
3. J. McKenna, *r.*
4. P. D. Wigginton, *d.*

COLORADO.

James B. Belford, *r.*

CONNECTICUT.

1. G. W. Landers, *d.*
2. James Phelps, *d.*
3. John T. Watt, *r.*
4. Levi Warner, *d.*

DELAWARE.

James Williams, *d.*

FLORIDA.

1. W. J. Parman, *r.*
2. H. Gisbee, Jr., *r.* (?)

GEORGIA.

1. Julian Hartridge, *d.*
2. W. E. Smith, *d.*
3. Philip Cook, *d.*
4. H. R. Harris, *d.*
5. M. A. Candler, *d.*
6. James H. Blount, *d.*
7. V. H. Dubney, *d.*
8. A. H. Stephens, *d.*
9. Benj. H. Hill, *d.*

ILLINOIS.

1. W. Aldrich, *r.*
2. C. H. Harrison, *d.*
3. L. Brentano, *r.*
4. W. Lathrop, *r.*
5. H. C. Burchard, *r.*
6. T. J. Henderson, *r.*
7. P. C. Hayes, *r.*
8. G. L. Fort, *r.*
9. T. A. Bo, *d.*
10. J. H. Hargate, *d.*
11. E. M. Knapp, *d.*
12. W. M. Springer, *d.*
13. T. F. Tilton, *r.*
14. J. G. Cannon, *r.*
15. J. R. Edin, *d.*
16. E. M. Ashcroft, *r.* (?)
17. R. M. Morrison, *d.*
18. Benj. L. Wiley, *r.*
19. R. W. Townsaud, *d.*

INDIANA.

1. B. S. Frier, *d.*
2. J. R. Cobb, *d.*
3. G. A. Bicknell, *d.*
4. Leonidas Sexon, *r.*

5. T. M. Browne, *r.*
6. W. S. Robinson, *r.*
7. John Hanna, *r.*
8. M. C. Gunter, *r.*
9. M. D. White, *r.*
10. W. H. Calkins, *r.*
11. J. L. Evans, *r.*
12. A. H. Hamilton, *d.*
13. John H. Baker, *r.*

IOWA.

1. J. C. Stone, *r.*
2. Hiram Price, *r.*
3. T. W. Burdick, *r.*
4. N. C. Deering, *r.*
5. Rush Clark, *r.*
6. E. S. Sampson, *r.*
7. H. J. Cummings, *r.*
8. W. F. Sapp, *r.*
9. Addison Oliver, *r.*

KANSAS.

1. W. A. Phillips, *r.*
2. D. C. Haskell, *r.*
3. Thomas Ryan, *r.*

KENTUCKY.

1. A. R. Boone, *d.*
2. J. McKenzie, *d.*
3. John Cantwell, *d.*
4. J. P. Knott, *d.*
5. Albert S. Willis, *d.*
6. J. S. Blackburn, *d.*
7. M. J. Darham, *d.*
8. Thos. Turner, *d.*
10. J. B. Clarke, *d.*

LOUISIANA.

1. R. L. Gibson, *d.*
2. H. C. Dibble, *d.*
3. C. B. Darrall, *r.*
4. G. L. Smith, *r.*
5. J. E. Leonard, *d.*
6. Chas. E. Nash, *r.*

MAINE.

1. Thos. B. Read, *r.*
2. W. P. Frece, *r.*
3. S. D. Lindsey, *r.*
4. L. Powers, *r.*
5. Eugene Hale, *r.*

MARYLAND.

1. D. M. Henry, *d.*
2. Chas. B. Roberts, *d.*
3. Wm. Kinnell, *d.*
4. Thos. Swann, *d.*
5. Edw. J. Hookie, *d.*
6. Wm. Walsh, *d.* (?)

MASSACHUSETTS.

1. Wm. W. Chapin, *d.*
2. Benj. W. Harris, *d.*
3. Benj. Dean, *c.*
4. Leopold Morse, *d.*
5. N. P. Banks, *r.*
6. G. B. Loring, *r.*
7. Benj. F. Butler, *r.*
8. William Claflin, *r.*
9. W. C. Allen, *r.*
10. A. Novcross, *r.*
11. G. D. Robinson, *r.*

MICHIGAN.

1. A. S. Williams, *d.*
2. Edwin Willis, *r.*
3. J. H. McGowan, *r.*

4. E. W. Keightley, *r.*
5. J. W. S. one, *r.*
6. Mark S. Brewer, *r.*
7. Omar O. Conger, *r.*
8. C. C. Ellsworth, *r.*
9. Jay A. Hubbell, *r.*

MINNESOTA.

1. Mark H. Dunnell, *r.*
2. Horace B. Strait, *r.*
3. J. H. Stewart, *r.*

MISSISSIPPI.

1. H. L. Muldrow, *d.*
2. Van H. Manning, *d.*
3. H. D. Money, *d.*
4. O. R. Singlemon, *d.*
5. Chas. E. Hooker, *d.*
6. J. R. Chalmers, *d.*

MISSOURI.

1. Anthony Ittner, *r.*
2. Nathan Cole, *r.*
3. L. S. Wetzel, *r.*
4. R. A. Hatcher, *d.*
5. R. P. Bland, *d.*
6. C. H. Morgan, *d.*
7. T. T. Crittenden, *d.*
8. Benj. J. Franklin, *d.*
9. David Rea, *d.*
10. H. W. Pollard, *r.*
11. John B. Clark, *d.*
12. John M. Glover, *d.*
13. A. H. Buckner, *d.*

NEBRASKA.

Frank Welch, *r.*

NEVADA.

Thomas Wren, *r.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Elected in March, 1877.

NEW JERSEY.

1. C. H. Shunkinson, *r.*
2. J. H. Pugh, *r.*
3. Miles Ross, *d.*
4. A. A. Clark, *d.*
5. A. W. Cutler, *d.*
6. Thos. B. Peddie, *r.*
7. A. A. Hardenburgh, *d.*

NEW YORK.

1. J. W. Covert, *d.*
2. W. D. Veeder, *d.*
3. S. B. Crittenden, *r.*
4. A. M. Biss, *d.*
5. Nicholas Muller, *d.*
6. Samuel S. C. x, *d.*
7. A. Eickhoff, *d.*
8. A. G. McCook, *r.*
9. Fernando Wood, *d.*
10. A. S. Hewitt, *d.*
11. B. A. Willis, *d.*
12. C. N. Potter, *d.*
13. J. H. Keenan, *r.*
14. G. M. Beebe, *d.*
15. S. L. Mayham, *d.*
16. T. J. Quinn, *d.*
17. A. I. Townsend, *r.*
18. A. Williams, *r.*
19. A. B. James, *r.*
20. J. H. Starin, *r.*
21. S. Bundy, *r.*
22. G. A. Bagley, *r.*
23. W. J. Bacon, *r.*
24. W. H. Baker, *r.*
25. Frank Hiseock, *r.*
26. John H. Camp, *r.*
27. E. G. Lapham, *r.*
28. J. W. Dwight, *r.*
29. J. N. Langerford, *r.*
30. E. K. Hart, *d.*
31. C. B. Benedict, *d.*
32. D. N. Lockwood, *d.*
33. G. W. Patterson, *r.*

NORTH CAROLINA.

1. J. J. Yates, *d.*
2. C. H. Brogden, *r.*
3. A. M. Waddell, *d.*
4. J. J. Davis, *d.*
5. A. M. Scales, *d.*
6. W. L. Steele, *d.*
7. W. M. Robbins, *d.*
8. R. B. Vance, *d.*

OHIO.

1. Milton Saylor, *d.*
2. H. B. Banning, *d.*
3. M. Gardner, *r.*
4. J. A. McMahon, *d.*
5. A. V. Rice, *d.*
6. Jacob D. Cox, *r.*
7. H. L. Dickey, *d.*
8. J. W. Keller, *r.*
9. J. S. Jones, *r.*
10. Chas. Foster, *r.*
11. H. S. Neal, *r.*
12. T. Ewing, *d.*
13. M. I. Southard, *d.*
14. E. B. Finley, *d.*
15. N. Van Vorhes, *r.*
16. L. Danford, *r.*
17. W. McKinley, *r.*
18. James Monroe, *r.*
19. J. A. Garfield, *r.*
20. A. Townsend, *r.*

OREGON.

R. Williams, *r.*

PENNSYLVANIA.

1. C. Freeman, *r.*
2. Chas. O'Neil, *r.*
3. J. J. Randall, *d.*
4. W. D. Kelley, *r.*
5. A. C. Armer, *r.*
6. William Ward, *r.*
7. I. N. Evans, *r.* (?)
8. H. Clynner, *d.*
9. A. H. Smith, *d.*
10. S. S. Bird, *d.*
11. F. D. Collins, *d.*
12. H. B. Wright, *d.*
13. J. B. Reilly, *d.*
14. J. W. Killenger, *r.*
15. Ed. Overton, *r.*
16. J. I. Mitchell, *r.*
17. J. M. Campbell, *r.*
18. W. Stenger, *d.* (?)
19. Levi Madsen, *d.*
20. Levi A. Mackey, *d.*
21. Jacob Turney, *d.*
22. Russell Errett, *r.*
23. T. V. Ba ne, *r.*
24. W. S. Hallenberger, *r.*
25. Henry White, *r.*
26. J. M. Thompson, *r.*
27. L. F. Watson, *r.*

RHODE ISLAND.

1. Benj. T. Eames, *r.*
2. L. W. Ballou, *r.*

SOUTH CAROLINA.

1. J. H. Rainey, *r.*
2. R. D. Cain, *r.*
3. D. W. Aiken, *d.*
4. J. H. Evans, *d.*
5. K. Smalls, *r.*

TENNESSEE.

1. J. H. Randolph, *r.*
2. J. M. Thornburgh, *r.*
3. G. G. Dibrell, *d.*
4. H. Y. Riddle, *d.*
5. J. M. Bright, *d.*
6. J. T. House, *d.*
7. W. C. Whitthorne, *d.*

8. J. D. C. Atkins, <i>d.</i> 9. W. P. Caldwell, <i>d.</i> 10. H. C. Young, <i>d.</i>	VIRGINIA. 1. B. G. Douglass, <i>d.</i> 2. J. Goode Jr., <i>d.</i> 3. G. C. Wicker, <i>d.</i> 4. J. Jorgensen, <i>r.</i> 5. G. C. Cabell, <i>d.</i> 6. J. R. Tucker, <i>d.</i> 7. J. T. Harris, <i>d.</i> 8. Eppa Hunton, <i>d.</i> 9. A. L. Pridmore, <i>d.</i>	WISCONSIN. 1. C. G. Williams, <i>r.</i> 2. L. E. Caswell, <i>r.</i> 3. G. C. Hazleton, <i>r.</i>	4. W. P. Lynde, <i>d.</i> 5. Ed. S. Briggs, <i>d.</i> 6. Gabriel Bouck, <i>d.</i> 7. H. L. Humphrey, <i>r.</i> 8. T. C. Pound, <i>r.</i>
TEXAS. 1. John H. Reagan, <i>d.</i> 2. R. Culberson, <i>d.</i> 3. Wm. Throckmorton, <i>d.</i> 4. E. Q. Mills, <i>d.</i> 5. D. C. Goodings, <i>d.</i> 6. G. Schleicher, <i>d.</i>	VERMONT. 1. Chas. H. Joyee, <i>r.</i> 2. D. C. Deming, <i>r.</i> 3. G. W. Hendee, <i>r.</i>	WEST VIRGINIA. 1. Benj. Wilson, <i>d.</i> 2. Benj. F. Martin, <i>d.</i> 3. J. E. Kenna, <i>d.</i>	RECAPITULATION. Next Congress. Present House. Republicans.....145 110 Democrats.....147 183 To be elected.....3 Democratic majority.....3 73 Republican net gain, 69.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

NEW REGULATION TO FACILITATE THE DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL BANK NOTES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,

WASHINGTON, D. C. November 6, 1876.

It has become necessary to present for the consideration of national banks a fact which has occasioned much inconvenience, and which is the cause daily of increasing embarrassment, namely the rapidity with which national bank notes are wearing out, and being returned for destruction, taken in connection with the large number of agents appointed to witness this destruction in behalf of the banks. It is necessary to destroy the notes of one hundred to one hundred and fifty different banks in one day, and the names of about one hundred and fifty persons are registered as agents. Much time is consumed in looking up these gentlemen; some cannot be found when wanted, some are dilatory, and others neglect to attend when notified. Then when they assemble the number is often so great that there is no room for their accommodation, and great confusion, delay, and inconvenience are likely to result. The matter has, at length, reached that point where some change must be made—some relief must be obtained, or the public business will be seriously obstructed.

I have, accordingly, concluded that the most feasible method of obviating the difficulties of the situation will be to submit the names of a sufficient number of reliable agents, and request the banks to make choice from that number. The following names are presented for that purpose:

The National Banks of Washington city: Messrs. A. S. Pratt & Son, J. C. G. Kennedy, T. W. Patchin, Esq., Messrs. Middleton & Co., Lewis Johnson & Co., Joseph S. Burnett, Esq.

All these will be in daily attendance at this office, and will save the necessity of giving special notice, as well as the loss of time in looking for them.

The necessities of the case have forced me to adopt this plan, and while I do not wish to be arbitrary, such regulations must be prescribed as will prevent unreasonable delay in the transaction of public business.

Respectfully,

JNO. JAY KNOX,

Comptroller of the Currency.

CIRCULAR—SAMPLE CARDS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C. November 11, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs and others:

The following circular, issued by the State Department, is published for the information of officers of customs and others:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 16, 1876.

To the Consular Officers of the United States in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Belgium, and Germany:

GENTLEMEN: The Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter of the 7th instant, refers to the subject of samples of merchandise to be imported into the United States from the countries above mentioned, which are usually deposited in the consulate, and to which your attention was called by a circular of the 10th of July last, marked "Separate," and has stated that these samples have commenced to arrive at the various custom house of the United States, and that some are so attached to the triplicate invoices as to seriously impair their condition, while others are forwarded separately upon sample cards, and so indorsed as to establish their identity with the invoices which accompany them. This latter system of samples, it is stated, is regarded as most suitable for the purposes of the customs officers, and the Secretary of the Treasury has requested that instructions upon the subject may be addressed to you.

You are, therefore, directed to forward, in future, all samples in the manner suggested, where it is possible to do so, and, to aid you in doing so, I inclose herewith a form of card, to which the samples are to be at-

tached in any proper way, and by which you will be governed when practicable.

The samples should not, as a rule, exceed the size of the card, which measures seven and a quarter inches long and four inches wide, and where the sample exceeds in size the dimensions of the card the latter should be attached to the sample with a tag or otherwise.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
JOHN L. CADWALADER,
Assistant Secretary.

Any material departure, by consular officers, from the practice directed in this circular, or that alluded to in Department's circular No. 94, current series, may be reported by officers of the customs, to the end that the matter may be brought to the attention of the Secretary of State, if thought proper by the Department.

LOT M. MORRILL,
Secretary.

THE SECRET SERVICE ANNUAL REPORT—ARRESTS, CONVICTIONS, IMPRISONMENTS, AND FINES.

James J. Brooks, Chief of the Secret Service, has submitted his annual report to the Solicitor of the Treasury. The following is a synopsis of its more important provisions: The total number of arrests was 223. These arrests were mainly made for making, dealing in, or passing counterfeit money and altering Treasury notes and United States bonds. There were besides some arrests for smuggling, for larceny of Government property, fraudulent bankruptcy, violations of Internal Revenue Law, and for misusing United States mails. Of these arrests 43 have been convicted and sentenced, 5 await sentence, 35 have pleaded guilty, and only 15 have been acquitted. The aggregate sentence of those imprisoned was 236 years, and the total fine assessed was \$4,192. The service is also engaged in an examination of cases of back pay and bounty fraud. The service has also contributed materially to the success of seizures in revenue cases, having taken within the year \$50,000.

The total number of arrests made by local authorities for which a contingent reward is offered is 141. Their aggregate sentences were 126 years; the total fine, \$2,950. The division during the year has captured Government money stolen and altered United States bonds to the amount of \$237,387. A vast amount of counterfeit plate has been captured, including some of the most dangerous that has ever been made. The report concludes: "In submitting my report of the operations of this division while under the direction of Elmer Washburn, my predecessor in office, I cannot refrain from stating that the oft-repeated and crushing blows administered to the class of criminals with

whom we have especially to deal are shown in the important convictions obtained, and in the extent of counterfeit money and material captured. Two of the most formidable gangs that ever impoverished the people by the issue of well executed counterfeits of national bank notes and fractional currency have been brought to justice, and most of their agents or confederates arrested are undergoing terms of imprisonments.

ESTIMATES AND APPROPRIATIONS.

The House Committee on Appropriations met in Washington, on the 22d of November, to consider the business coming before it. The estimates for the diplomatic and consular service slightly exceed \$1,200,000. This is 59,000 in excess of the amount appropriated for the fiscal year, and nearly \$150,000 less than the estimate of last year. The estimates for all the expenses of the Government, with the exception of the pensions, are larger than the appropriations of the present year. The pension estimates are \$28,533,500—a million less than the amount appropriated for the present year. A considerable annual reduction in the pension lists may now be counted upon.

INDIAN ARMY AND POST OFFICE ESTIMATES.

The Indian army estimates are much larger than the appropriation granted at the last session of Congress for the current fiscal year, but the Post Office estimates promise to be nearly the same.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.
THE PENSION BUREAU—AN ARMY OF PENSIONERS.

Mr. Commissioner for Pensions, in his annual report, says that the total number of pensioners on the roll June 30, 1876, was 224,831, or 2,684 less than one year previous. The roll of army invalid pensioners was increased by the addition of 2,912 names during the year, and numbered on the 30th of last June 105,478. The number of widows and minor children on the roll decreased 3,718, leaving 104,855 names. The total number of survivors of the war of 1812 borne on the roll at the close of the last fiscal year was 15,875, showing that 1,609 had died during the twelve months. The total amount paid out for pensions during the year was \$28,351,539, leaving a balance of about \$1,650,000 not drawn from the appropriations. There were filed during the year 43,877 pension claims of various kinds, (original and for increase of pensions) of which 17,451 were adjudicated by allowances, 10,132 by rejection; total, 27,583, or only 64 per cent. of the number filed. On the 30th of June last there were in the office 68,973 unadjudicated claims, besides upward of 30,000 so-called "rejected claims" pertaining to service in the late war, all of which are

subject to be called up and reopened. Of this latter class 2,033 were reopened during the year. Of the pending claims 19,263 were filed prior to June 1, 1870.

PROPOSED ECONOMICAL CHANGES—EX-PARTE EVIDENCE—EXAMINING SURGEONS.

The Commissioner of Pensions has submitted to the Secretary of the Interior a report supplementary to his regular annual report upon the business of his office. This report embraces such recommendations as the commissioner has to make to insure the efficiency and more economical administration of his office as well as the expedition of business. The most important feature in the suggested amendment of the law is the repeal of the present law admitting ex-parte affidavits in support of claims and the existing system of medical examinations. In reference to the admission of ex-parte affidavits, he says that if this species of testimony in support of claims be continued it will swamp the office. Last year the increase of original claims reached 40,000 exclusive of 1,000 bounty land claims. Of the aggregate not more than 64 per cent. were passed. There are now on file in the office 88,000 unadjudicated claims besides 60,000 rejected ones. In correction of this much abused system it is proposed to abolish the 1,513 examining surgeons, as the local associations and influences dispose them to too great liberality in passing subjects of examination. It has been found also that the testimony in most cases is entirely untrustworthy. In addition, the number of persons ready to perpetrate frauds seems to be on the increase. The papers of claimants are also five to ten times more voluminous than they were, without adding a corresponding amount of trustworthiness.

It is recommended that the entire country be divided into 60 districts, to each of which a surgeon be appointed for medical examinations, and a competent clerk be detailed to look into the claims of the parties and make up their papers, to be sent in form ready for adjudication by the Pension Bureau. It is estimated that this system will cost at least \$33,000 less than that now in vogue. At present the examining surgeons receive \$2 for each examination, which alone costs the Government an outlay of \$100,000 a year. It would also enable the commissioner to make a reduction of at least one-third the present force of the bureau.

THE PATENT OFFICE—EXTENSION OF A PATENT.

The Commissioner of Patents to-day extended the patent of John R. Harrington, of Brooklyn, for an improved machine for making carpet linings and also, for an improved kind of carpet lining. The extension is for seven years from the expiration of the original patent in April, 1870, and is now

granted under authority of the special act of Congress passed last session, which authorizes the application for extensions to be considered regardless of its non-presentation within the regular prescribed period.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

THE COTTON CROP.

Reports to the Department of Agriculture indicate that the season has been extremely favorable for gathering cotton, except in some portions of North Carolina. Frost has injured the top crop in the northern belt, notably in Arkansas. The fiber is cleaner than usual and of superior quality in the southern belt. Drouth in the Gulf States, rain storms in the Carolinas, boll worm in the Southwest, and the caterpillar in certain locations near the Gulf coast, are chief causes of injury to the crop. The harvest will be completed at a much earlier date than usual.

The crop must be smaller than that of last year, however favorable and long the remaining season for gathering. In comparison with the last crop the percentages of the Atlantic Coast States are relatively larger by reason of the poor returns of 1875, and smaller in the Southwest from comparison with the remarkable yield of that region. They are as follows: North Carolina, 92; South Carolina, 99; Georgia, 110; Florida, 100; Alabama, 77; Mississippi, 75; Louisiana, 83; Texas, 100; Arkansas, 74; Tennessee, 101. The average is between 88 and 89, indicating without reference to the remainder of the picking season nearly nine-tenths of the crop of 1875.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SEEDS.

The annual report of the Commissioner of Agriculture shows that there were distributed during the past year 1,520,000 packages of vegetable and field seeds and textiles, including nearly 900,000 of vegetable, 372,000 of flower, 66,000 of wheat, 64,000 of tobacco, and 863 of cotton. These seeds, the report says, were collected from all parts of the world, selected because of their peculiar excellence, and put into the hands of thousands of individuals who make them the germ from which is to grow a quantity of product that is to characterize the future operations of the farmer and gardener.

THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL TRADE.—The Pottsville Miners' Journal gives these figures: "The amount of coal sent from the Schuylkill region for the week ending Nov. 11, was, by rail, 110,496 tons; by canal, 30,383 tons—total, 140,879 tons, against 156,224 tons for the same week of last year—decrease, 15,345 tons. The quantity sent for the year was 3,891,604 tons, against 4,023,228 tons for the

corresponding period of last year—decrease 13,224 tons. The quantity sent from all the regions for the week was: Anthracite, 449,738 tons; bituminous, 87,546 tons—total, 537,284 tons; against 583,703 tons anthracite and 76,792 tons bituminous—total 660,495 tons—for the same week of last year. Decrease of anthracite, 133,965 tons; increase of bituminous, 10,754 tons. The quantity sent from all the regions for the year was: anthracite, 16,222,599 tons; bituminous, 3,159,202 tons—total, 19,381,801 tons; against 18,018,198 tons anthracite and 3,443,187 tons bituminous—total, 21,461,385 tons for the corresponding period of last year. Decrease of anthracite, 1,795,599 tons; decrease of bituminous, 283,985 tons—total decrease, 2,079,584 tons."

ILLITERATES IN MASSACHUSETTS.—In the new census of Massachusetts illiterates have been classified as those persons who cannot read, but can write; cannot write, but can read; and can neither read nor write; of the first class there are 307; of the second, 26,656; of the third, 77,550; total, 104,513—above ten years of age, or about $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the whole population. Of the whole number of illiterates 6,041 are between the ages of ten and fifteen, inclusive; 5,554 are between sixteen and nineteen, inclusive; 2,129 from twenty to twenty one inclusive, and the balance, or 90,789—more than eighty six per cent. of the whole—are above twenty one years of age. The native-born illiterates number 12,50 (more than one half being above twenty one,) or less than one per cent. of the native-born population; the foreign-born illiterates number 92,363, or twenty-two per cent. of the whole foreign born population; 83,842 of 92,363, foreign-born illiterates are above twenty one years of age. Of the native-born illiterates, 7,646 were born in Massachusetts; this is about 8-10 of one per cent. of the Massachusetts born population—973,011. Of the Massachusetts born illiterates, 3,275 were of foreign parents. There are 4,505 illiterates from other States of the United States, or 17-10 per cent. of those born in other States; 67,164, or twenty-eight per cent. of the whole Irish born in the State, are illiterates;

17,537, or twenty per cent. of those born in Canada; 2,831, or six per cent. of the English born; 2,246, or sixty per cent. of those born in Portugal; 658, or four per cent. of the Germans; 580, or thirty-four per cent. of the Italians; 486, or four per cent. of the Scotch.

LAST NOTES FROM THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.—The Centennial Exposition is now looked upon as one of the things which have been. The first building to be dismantled of its beautiful contents was Machinery Hall, and by this time the heavy machinery has been taken apart and is now being packed into the cars for transportation, while a considerable portion of the smaller exhibits have already been taken away. In the Main Building all the foreign sections have been inclosed with high fences, within which none are allowed but the women. The goods are being taken out of the side doors, which are guarded by a custom officer, and packed from a platform into the cars for transportation to the steamships which are to take them away, or consigned to warehouses in the city where they will remain until sold. The United States section is being rapidly depleted, and but few of the exhibits remain intact, except those which are intended for the Permanent Exhibition.

All the walks throughout the grounds have been cut up and filled with ruts by the numerous wagons and drays which now daily pass over them. During the exhibition it was only a select few who had the privilege of bringing within the grounds vehicles of any kind, but now long lines of wagons to hire may be seen at all hours standing between the Main Building and Machinery Hall.

Outside of the Centennial grounds, the city which was built up prior to the opening of the Exhibition and has been, ever since, one of the noisiest and most crowded portions of the city, seems to be almost totally deserted. The hotels are most of them closed or in the hands of the auctioneer or sheriff, and the railroad depots are empty. The only life shown is among the carmen, who are carrying away the furniture.